PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE BRITISH ACADEMY

1909–1910

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[2]Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B

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[2]Professor M. J. de GOEJE (Amsterdam)
[5]Professor WILLIAM JAMES (Harvard).
[2]Professor K. KRUMBACHER (Munich).
[7]Mr. H C. LEA (Philadelphia).
[5]Professor FREDERICK DE MARTENS (St Petersburg).
[2]M. GEORGES PICOT (Paris).

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SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

July 1, 1909

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, SIR E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, G.C.B

THE past year has been an active one in the history of the British Academy. We do not seek popularity, but circumstances have combined to make the Academy better known to the outside English world, and even this must be counted for gain in a country which confessedly 'careth for none of these things', and where the pioneers of such a cause as ours must be prepared to encounter more of the Philistines' incurious indifference than of the sympathetic encouragement of the educated.

That we cannot record such a long-desired triumph as a grant from the public funds, or even the concession of a roof to shelter our heads, will be a matter of surprise to none. We have still to do our best, relying on our own slender resources. It was, indeed, at one time imagined that a renewed appeal to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury might have had a happy conclusion, but the idea was very properly abandoned in the face of the financial position of the country. Let us accept the position as cheerfully as may be. Let us congratulate ourselves that we have no income worth taxing, and that the unearned increment of our brains will not, for the present at least, be scrutinized by a board of assessors.

In the review of what has passed during the year, our first duty is to record, with mournful sympathy, the losses which inexorable fate has wrought in the ranks of the Academy Two of our Fellows have been taken from us in Dr. Caird, Master of Balliol, one of the most distinguished philosophers is lost to the learned world; in Dr Whitley Stokes has passed one whose valuable official work as an Indian Civil Servant is not to be lost sight of in his better known studies in Celtic literature, in which he stood pre-eminent. Among our Corresponding Fellows, we shall no longer count Professor de Goeje, that veteran Arabic scholar, the Editor in Chief of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, one of the enterprises of the International Association of Academies; and, even as we are writing, comes the

painful news that the great Russian jurist, Professor de Martens, another of our Corresponding Fellows, has been snatched away by the hand of sudden death.

At the last Annual General Meeting Lord Curzon of Kedleston was elected a Fellow of the British Academy That election brought up the total number of Fellows to ninety-four, since reduced, by the losses to which I have referred, to ninety-two. If the names of the six scholars, who are to be presently proposed to you, meet with your approval, the full list of Fellows will be nearly complete. It will be remembered that last year we refrained from proposing the election of additional Corresponding Fellows, the number elected in the previous year having been a full one. But now the names of six distinguished foreign scholars will presently be submitted to you for the honour of admission into the British Academy as Corresponding Fellows.

The Triennial Meeting of the International Association of Academies will be held next year in Rome, where a preliminary Committee Meeting recently took place which Dr. Kenyon, a member of the Council of the British Academy, officially attended. One of the projects before the Association has specially enlisted the sympathies of the British Academy, namely, the proposed critical edition of the Mahābhârata. A Committee of the Academy, appointed to report on the invitation of Professor von Schroeder, the President of the Mahābhârata Committee, addressed to us, to support the undertaking and to appoint one of our Fellows as a member of the Committee, emphasizes the extreme importance of the work in words which may usefully be quoted · 'We are of opinion', runs the Report, 'that the constitution of a critical text of the Mahābhârata is the most important task in the domain of Indian scholarship at the present day. This very extensive national epic has been more intimately connected with the history of Indian civilization for more than 2,000 years than any other literary work. But research can make no real progress with the material it contains till a critical edition has been produced. The work has already been apportioned among a number of most competent Sanskrit scholars, and the Associated Academies have voted a sum of £2,500 towards the cost of the edition. Owing to the position of India in the British Empire the moral support of the British Academy would be of especial value in helping to raise the remainder of the funds necessary for the completion of the scheme. We would therefore without hesitation advise the Council of the British Academy both to support the undertaking and to appoint a delegate as a member

of the International Committee' Professor Macdonell has accordingly been nominated to serve in this capacity.

Before proceeding to review the literary activities of the Academy, during the year, I should first report that the editing of the Survey of S. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, contained in a MS. in the Cottonian Library, has made fair progress; but it has not advanced so far as might have been wished. It will be remembered that this publication is to form the first volume of the series of social and economic records which the British Academy has undertaken. A large portion of the text is in print and is now passing under revision by the editorial committee, to whose care that duty has been assigned. But it is to be hoped that the volume will be in the hands of the Fellows before long.

In the annual literary output of the British Academy the lectures instituted under the Schweich Fund must always hold a prominent place The inaugural lectures which were delivered last year by Professor Driver upon 'The results of archaeological research as bearing on the study of the Old Testament' have now been published, and you will be glad to know that the first edition is already exhausted. This result was only to be expected, having regard to the extreme interest of such a general survey of the field of archaeological research as the lectures covered.

The lectures for the present year have been delivered by the Rev. R. H. Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, his subject being the 'Composition of the book of Isaiah in the light of Archaeology and History'. These lectures, like those of Professor Driver, have been largely attended.

Professor George Adam Smith has accepted the Council's invitation to deliver the Schweich Lectures in the year 1910

Of general papers which have been contributed at the ordinary meetings of the Academy, one by Professor R. S. Conway entitled 'The Records of the Venetic Language' embodied his report on the investigations which he undertook by the aid of a grant voted by the Academy, and is of considerable philological value. Dr. Postgate, Fellow of the Academy, gave a paper of interest for classical students entitled 'Flaws in modern Classical Research' In the sphere of archaeology Professor W. Ridgeway, Fellow of the Academy, read a paper with the very suggestive title of 'Minos the Destroyer rather than the Creator of the so-called Minoan culture of Cnossus'. Two papers connected with architecture will also appear in the next volume of the Proceedings of the Academy· the one being on the 'Evolution of Ancient Indian Architecture', by Professor A A

Macdonell, Fellow of the Academy; the other on the 'Nave of Westminster', by the Rev. R. B. Rackham, which was communicated by the Dean of Westminster, Fellow of the Academy.

These contributions to the ordinary proceedings of the Academy have during the past year been largely augmented by the papers which were written in connexion with the Milton Tercentenary. I may first enumerate these papers before going on to say a few words on the Celebration itself.

The essays were —

'Milton as an Historian,' by Professor C. H Firth, Fellow of the Academy.

'A consideration of Macaulay's Comparison of Dante and Milton,' by Dr Courthope, Fellow of the Academy

'Milton in the Eighteenth Century,' by Professor Dowden

'Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster,' by Mr. A. F Leach.

'Milton's Fame on the Continent,' by Professor J. G. Robinson.

Also—by the kindness of Lady Jebb—a paper on 'Samson Agonistes and the Hellenic Drama', by the late Sir Richard Jebb, Fellow of the Academy.

As to the celebration of the Tercentenary itself, which took place early in December, the British Academy may be congratulated upon the success which attended it

I venture to think that nothing could have been carried out in better taste. There was a general feeling that the ceremony should not be allowed to lapse into anything that might be considered an extravagant demonstration; and all who were engaged in the celebration were influenced by the consciousness of discharging a pious duty in memory of one of the greatest and most revered names in English literature.

At the inaugural meeting in the theatre of Burlington House on the 8th of December, the eve of the Tercentenary, which was attended by a large representative gathering, a fitting oration was delivered by Dr. A. W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse and Fellow of the Academy, and a paper was read on 'Milton and Music' by Sir Frederick Bridge, with vocal illustrations by the choristers of Westminster Abbey. At this meeting, too, were read the fine lines on Milton composed for the occasion by the late Mr. George Meredith. A certain pathos attaches to these lines when we remember that they were almost the last contribution to literature from the pen of that great writer. Performances of 'Samson Agonistes' brought the programme of the Tercentenary to a close.

The celebration of the Tercentenary also owed much, as it is a

pleasure to record, to the kind offices of the Lord Mayor, who most graciously gave a banquet in honour of the occasion for the Fellows of the British Academy and others, and also to the Rev. A. W Hutton, who was a member of the British Academy Milton Committee, and who arranged a remarkable musical service at Bow Church, Milton's parish church, at which the Bishop of Ripon preached the sermon

The International Historical Congress was held at Berlin in August last, and the British Academy was represented at it by some of its Fellows. An invitation which by direction of the Academy was offered at the Congress by Sir John Rhys, and was ably supported by Professor Percy Gardner, that the next meeting of the Congress should be held in London in 1913, was most cordially accepted. The British Academy is therefore responsible for the organization and successful management of the Congress in that year. Let us not rest quiet under the comfortable assurance that there are four years in front of us for preparation. May I express a hope that a handsome series of papers for the occasion may be taken in hand forthwith by Fellows interested in historical studies.

At the International Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen the Academy was represented by Professor Rhys Davids.

Professor Macdonell will serve as delegate at the Five-hundredth Anniversary of the foundation of the University of Leipzig. Lord Reay will attend the University celebration at Geneva

One of the most interesting meetings in which the Academy took part was that held on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff at the end of last December in Berlin. In the name of the Academy Sir William Ramsay, Fellow of the Academy, expressed our congratulations to the Professor, and this action evidently afforded great satisfaction not only to our distinguished Corresponding Fellow, but also to the assembled scholars who were present at the ceremony. It is above all things the friendly and fraternal feeling with which the British Academy is recognized by the Academies and scholars of other nations, that is one of our chief consolations and encouragements in our efforts to represent our country worthily in the International Association.

Here we may notice the literary appointments which have been obtained by Fellows of the Academy —

Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly has become Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool, a position which recognizes his eminence as a scholar in that language.

Mr. Reginald Lane Poole, in addition to his other University

duties, has been appointed Keeper of the Archives of the University of Oxford.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth, so well known in the archaeological world, has succeeded Dr. A. J Evans as Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, to the development of which he will bring the advantage of his great knowledge and archaeological experience.

It is not necessary to notice honours other than literary, which have fallen to the lot of Fellows. There is, however, one which carries with it so much distinction, and which is bestowed for eminence in learning, as well as for eminence in the arts of peace and war, that I cannot forbear mentioning it. It gave universal satisfaction to the Fellows of the Academy when it was announced that His Majesty had conferred the Order of Merit upon Dr. Henry Jackson, our distinguished Fellow, the Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge.

It is with some embarrassment and with a sense of humility that I ask the Fellows to allow me to say a few words affecting myself personally. I have had the honour of holding the Presidency of the British Academy for two years; but I am only too conscious that the second year of my tenure of that great office has passed under circumstances of trouble to myself, and, I fear, of great inconvenience to the Academy. A severe illness with which I was stricken towards the close of last year totally incapacitated me from taking that active share in the work of the Academy to which I was eager to devote myself. The kindness with which the Fellows have refrained from pressing me in any way, and in tolerating my inactivity, has touched me most profoundly, and they must permit me to offer them my grateful, heartfelt thanks.

I felt that it was impossible for me to offer myself for re-election; indeed, it would have been altogether improper in me to do so. I hope that the election which will presently be brought before you of a new President will place in this chair one of our most distinguished Fellows, a man still comparatively young in years, of high distinction as a scholar, of great ability in public affairs, one who will, I am convinced, carry on the fortunes of the Academy to honour and glory, and whose term of office, I venture to prophesy, will mark a great and auspicious development in our career. We are at this moment, it may be said, in the first crisis of our history. We have entered our seventh year. In mortal life, we are told, each recurring seventh year marks a crisis of the constitution of the human frame. Our seventh year may be considered to have brought us out of infancy at least, and to have placed us in that period of

existence when we may be more critically judged by our works. We must not fail to meet that judgement and to justify our existence There is much for us to do, and that can only be done by unremitting labour on our part, both as a corporate body and as individuals We have to plead our own cause. We have to compel recognition, to convince unbelief, to enforce sympathy But we must face our difficulties with a good heart and with a cheerful spirit. If there is one word that I would choose for the motto of our Academy, that word is 'Courage'

EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

June 28, 1910

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT,
S. H. BUTCHER.

By the election of Fellows to-day we shall bring up our numbers for the first time to the prescribed limit of one hundred. As we look back over the years since 1902 the list of Fellows who have died reminds us how heavy has been our loss during this brief period. The mere enumeration of names tells its own story of varied achievements, and brings to remembrance many striking personalities and memories of friendship. These are the names:—

Dr. Edward Caird.
Professor E B. Cowell.
Lord Davey.
Lord Goschen.
Sir R. C. Jebb.
Mr. W. E. H Lecky.
Professor F W. Maitland.
Mr. D B Monro.
Professor W. R. Morfill.
Dr. A. S. Murray.
Professor H. F Pelham.
Rev Provost George Salmon.
Sir Leslie Stephen.
Dr. Whitley Stokes.
Sir Spencer Walpole.

Corresponding Fellows.

Professor de Goeje.
Professor Krumbacher.
Mr. H. C. Lea.
Professor de Martens.
M. Georges Picot.

It has occurred to me that it may not be out of place at this meeting to review our early history and to attempt to define with some

precision the chief purposes for which the British Academy exists. The idea of an Academy of Letters, such as the French Academy, is familiar to every educated person, but an Academy which has as its object the Organization of Humane Learning is still novel to the English mind.

Previous to the granting of our Charter in 1902 there was in the United Kingdom no single body representative of those branches of learning and research which lie outside the domain of the physical and mathematical sciences. That latter field has been long and honourably occupied by the Royal Society of London. A special event forced attention to this defect. In 1899 at the instance of the Royal Society an International Association of the principal Scientific and Literary Academies of the world was formed, comprising two sections, a section of 'Natural Science' and a section of 'Literary Science', the term 'Literary' being used to denote the sciences of Language, History, Philosophy, Antiquities, and other kindred subjects, the study of which is based on scientific principles, but which are not included under the term 'Natural Science'. At the first meeting of the International Association held in Paris in 1900 Natural Science within the United Kingdom was represented by the Royal Society of London, but the section embracing the group of Historical, Philosophical, and Philological Sciences, &c., was wholly without representation so far as this country was concerned. An urgent appeal was made by the representatives present at the meeting that every effort should be employed to secure the corporate organization of these branches of study in the United Kingdom Private conferences at which, in the first instance, the Royal Society took the leading part, were then held in London, and opinions were exchanged between members of various learned bodies. The result was the founding of our Academy, which obtained the grant of a Royal Charter in August, 1902, the eve of the Coronation of His late Majesty King Edward VII. At the second meeting of the International Association of Academies held in London in May, 1904, the United Kingdom furnished delegates both from the Royal Society and from the British Academy, and the arrangements were carried out by these two bodies acting in concert. Here let me in passing remind the Members that the next meeting of the great International Congress of the Historical Sciences, from which much is expected by the world of learning, is to be held in London in 1913. The task of organizing the Congress has been gladly undertaken by the British Academy. The last meeting held in Berlin in 1908 was carried out with unqualified success through the munificence of the German government backed by private effort

and hospitality. We hope not to fall below that high standard either as regards the quality of the papers to be contributed by our historians or the adequacy of the other preparations for the reception of our guests.

I. The origin of the Academy itself reminds us of one of the main functions of such a society—to take part in international Conferences as the official representative of the branches of learning that fall within its scope.

II. Another and primary function of an Academy such as ours is to initiate or promote large schemes of work which need organized effort and learned co-operation on the part of many persons living, it may be, in different lands. Two examples under this head may be mentioned of international enterprises which concern Great Britain as an Asiatic Power more nearly than any other country:—

(1) A critical edition of the great Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*. The scheme was first laid before the Associated Academies at their meeting in London in 1904, and since then a Committee has been appointed from whose Report I quote the following words: 'We are of opinion that the constitution of a critical text of the *Mahābhārata* is the most important task in the domain of Indian scholarship at the present day This very extensive national epic has been more intimately connected with the history of Indian civilization for more than 2,000 years than any other literary work. But research can make no real progress with the material it contains till a critical edition has been produced The work has already been apportioned among a number of most competent Sanskrit scholars, and the Associated Academies have voted a sum of £2,500 towards the cost of the edition.' The British Academy has recently submitted to the India Office a reasoned statement setting forth the strong claims which this project has upon the consideration of our Government. I have the pleasure of being able to inform you that in the last few days I have received a reply to the effect that the Secretary of State for India, 'recognizing the value that attaches to this important undertaking, is willing to sanction a subvention from Indian revenues amounting to £1,020, and payable in instalments of £60 on the publication of each of the seventeen volumes in which the work is to be issued.' Though the amount of this grant falls short of our hopes, we are grateful for the official recognition and encouragement thus given to the work. One of our Fellows, Professor Macdonell, has been nominated by our Council to serve on the International Committee which is engaged on this undertaking.

(2) The second project is the Encyclopaedia of Islam. Here again

the India Office responded to the appeal of the British Academy a few years ago and made the Academy the channel of a grant of £200 a year for ten years towards the Encyclopaedia. This decision was reported to the third meeting of the International Association at Vienna in 1907, and a unanimous resolution was there adopted to petition the Governments of such countries as number Mahommedans among their subjects to give financial aid to the enterprise.

The lack of funds of necessity impedes the British Academy in the exercise of its functions and at every step of its progress. The departments of learning which it represents receive generous aid from the State in almost every other civilized country. Without State subsidies the labours of numerous *collaborateurs* could never have been embodied in those great collective works which stand to the credit more especially of Germany. The most notable achievements are those of the Royal Prussian Academy at Berlin. The historico-philosophical class in that Academy, whose sphere of work corresponds to that of the British Academy, has under its management a long list of works whose range and variety appear from the mention of a few of their titles:—

The Corpus of Greek Inscriptions.
The Corpus of Latin Inscriptions.
The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.
An Index Rei Militaris of the Roman Empire.
An Edition of the Greek Christian Fathers.
A Lexicon of Ancient Egyptian.
An Edition of the works of Kant.

The splendid programme, of which this is a small part, is the slow growth of years of organized learning combined with State munificence. But for the moment I would merely insist that some State aid, on however modest a scale, is essential if British learning is to take its due place in International Conferences. At each triennial meeting of the Associated Academies international projects are discussed and co-operation is invited. The Royal Society is able to contribute its share towards the scientific undertakings that come within its proper domain. Not so the British Academy. Its members can join in discussions, they can sit on committees, they may promise individual assistance in helping forward the works that are taken in hand, they are occasionally fortunate enough to be able to announce some small Government contribution to one of the schemes under consideration; but the Academy has no revenue from public funds; it cannot enter as an active partner into the enterprises of other nations; it cannot

summon to its aid by any offer of remuneration the many men in this country who are trained in habits of research, or have proved their capacity for learned and original work. The denial of State support to organized learning outside the sphere of the physical sciences tends to lower the intellectual dignity of Great Britain in international relations. Through this cold neglect the British Academy is crippled in the exercise of precisely those functions which are most distinctive of an Academy of Learning.

Other projects not of an international but of a national character also come within the scope of the British Academy. Let me give a salient instance. England possesses the most remarkable set of records of economic and social history in the world. A comparatively small portion of them has been published or even described, and there remains a vast store of similar documents which ought to be made accessible to the public Local societies from time to time bring in welcome contributions, but these are scattered in transactions, they are difficult of access, and appear in a haphazard way without any systematic co-ordination. The Rolls Series, published out of public funds, contain the greater part of the Chronicles and Memorials for the general history of mediaeval England, but of Social and Economic History only a few samples have been given. It is this gap that the Academy proposes to fill. Out of the limited resources furnished by the subscriptions of its members the British Academy has undertaken the publication of a series of *Records of British Economic and Social History*, designed to form a sequel to the series issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The first two volumes will consist of the Cartulary of the Abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury, the editing of this important record being entrusted to Mr G. J. Turner, of Lincoln's Inn, under the supervision of an editorial sub-committee, of which Professor Vinogradoff is the chairman. It is hoped that the first volume—some 400 pages—may be issued in the course of the next Academic year. The survey of the possessions of the Knights Templars (1185 A.D.), now at the Record Office, will form a third volume, to be edited by the Marquis d'Alban and Mr. Salter. A field is here opened up for an undertaking of national and scientific importance, and in carrying it out students may well be stimulated by the brilliant example already set by the Selden Society and other similar Societies. If, however, the scheme is to be developed in a manner commensurate with the wealth and interest of the materials, far larger pecuniary resources will be needed than are at present at the command of the Academy.

III. A third function of an Academy such as ours is to act as an advisory body to Departments of State or local authorities on matters affecting Learning and coming within its direct cognizance. Here we have continental and even British precedent to guide us. The German Government, in considering questions as to the recognition or support which should be given to institutions or undertakings having for their object the advancement of science or learning, seeks the advice of the Berlin Academy, just as the French Government seeks the advice of the Institute, acting through its several branches. Where such questions fall within the domain of Physical Science, the British Government can refer, and does refer, to the Royal Society. There has not been up to the present time any corresponding authority for dealing with questions that fall within the scope of the British Academy.

Existing learned societies are numerous and their objects usually are highly specialized; they are not in a position to co-ordinate their claims with those of other institutions of the same class. On the best mode of applying and distributing aid to scientific work the judgement of a body which is comprehensive in its aims and representative in character ought to carry a greater weight than that of any society of more limited scope. The advice of such a body would be valuable not only to the central government but to local authorities, to public and charitable institutions having funds at their disposal, and to private individuals who wish to aid scientific work. It would direct expenditure into proper channels, and would prevent or check profusion or waste. In many cases where pecuniary aid is granted such a body could usefully act, not merely as an advising, but as a dispensing authority.

In default of adequate provision for greater enterprises out of public money the British Academy looks to private generosity for endowment for special purposes. Two such funds have already been started:—

(1) The Schweich Fund of £10,000 for the encouragement of research in the sphere of Biblical Archaeology. The first series of lectures was given in 1908 by Professor Driver on 'The results of archaeological research as bearing on the study of the Old Testament'. Last year's course was delivered by Professor R. H. Kennett on 'The composition of the Book of Isaiah in the light of Archaeology and History'. Professor George Adam Smith has been appointed lecturer for 1910.

(2) Early this year an anonymous donor, to whom the Academy would publicly tender its thanks, has promised the sum of £500 a year for at least three years as the nucleus of a fund which may hereafter be enlarged, 'to be devoted to the furtherance of research

and criticism, historical, philological, and philosophical, in the various branches of English Literature, including the investigations of problems in the history and usage of English, written and spoken, and textual and documentary work elucidating the development of English Language and Literature.' The gift is strictly on the lines of the Academy's Charter, for although Literature on its artistic or purely literary side is outside the scope of the Academy, Literature on its scientific side is as certainly within its province. The gift is intended to provide for two annual lectures. One is a Shakespeare Lecture to be delivered 'on some Shakespearean subject, philosophical, philological, or historical, or some problem in English Dramatic Literature or Histrionic Art, or some study in Literature of the age of Shakespeare', and the lecturer may be a person of any nationality.

The other lecture is to be on some historical, philological, or philosophical subject connected with English Poetry and is to be styled 'The Warton Lecture'. There is a further provision that 'a gold medal shall be specially struck, and shall be awarded on rare occasions to commemorate exceptional achievement, and pre-eminent merit in any branch of English Learning specified under the fund.'

I have indicated three functions proper to the Academy of Learning; of these three the second is perhaps the most important and distinctive, and to a great extent carries with it the others. The characteristic which more clearly than any other marks off the activities of the Academy from those of more specialized societies is the part it is adapted to take (if equipped with sufficient resources) in promoting the publication of joint works on a large scale and of enduring value, undertaken either in concert with the other Academies of the world, or with members of learned bodies in this country. The Sections of the British Academy have drawn up lists of such enterprises for which the initiative or co-operation of the Academy is required. I will enumerate a few to give concrete reality to our ideas.

A. *General.*

1. A bibliographical index of papers bearing on the work of the Academy (cf. the Catalogue of Scientific Literature of the Royal Society).

2. Co-operation in excavations in Greece, Egypt, Assyria, Asia Minor, Crete, and elsewhere, and promotion of the interests of the British Schools of Archaeology in Athens, Rome, and Egypt.

3. A new edition of Du Cange (with the co-operation of other Academies).

4. A comprehensive history of Industries and an Economic Dictionary.

B *British.*

1. Publication of the collections of Greek and Roman antiquities now in private hands in this country

2. Corpus Inscriptionum Britannicarum, both comprehensive and specially native (e. g. the Ogham inscriptions).

3. Britannia Romana. (English Records in Rome.)

4. The collection and publication by competent inquirers of records of the religions, languages, folklore, customs and traditions of the primitive races which inhabit various parts of the British Empire, some of which are fast disappearing or losing their ancient forms of speech and faith.

5. A uniform publication, on a worthy scale by modern resources, of all remains of the earlier centuries in Britain (*a*) prehistoric, (*b*) Roman, (*c*) Saxon pre-Danish, (*d*) Danish-Saxon. The Saxon age should be first undertaken, as the material is less, and more irreplaceable in case of loss.

6. Records of English Equity.

7. Records of English Ecclesiastical Courts.

Local and Special

1. Complete survey of the Roman wall.

2. Publication of documents illustrating the relations of Great Britain and Europe, 1660–1837. (Ample materials in Record Office. To be published in sections, illustrating particular periods and spheres of diplomatic action.)

3. The publication of critical editions of pieces of early Celtic literature, some of which are still in manuscript, while others have appeared in editions below the level of modern scholarship. (In this work the advice and co-operation of the Royal Irish Academy would, of course, be sought.)

There is one other topic on which with your permission I will touch lightly. In my Presidential Address of last October I spoke of the relation of the British Academy to Literature. I would now add a brief word on the relation of the British Academy to Science in the ordinary acceptation of that word. The history of the sciences as distinct from the work of discovery and research within the several sciences has not, I believe, hitherto been dealt with by the Royal Society, and seems to fall within the historical portion of our domain. In the second volume of our proceedings a learned paper on 'Petrus Peregrinus de Maricourt and his Epistola de Magnete' by Professor Silvanus Thompson, F.R.S., was a recognition of this fact. Other

and more definite reminders have reached us of the intimate relation between the studies with which we are concerned and the sciences that are outside our immediate field. We have been invited by the Berlin Academy to co-operate in the editing of the 'Corpus Medicorum Antiquorum' which, as is now resolved, will be published under the auspices of the International Association of Academies. A similar proposal has come from Vienna, offering us a place on the Committee for the publication of a 'Corpus Scriptorum de Musica'. All the sciences, and indeed all the arts on their historical side, have points of contact with the British Academy, and here is a promising field for opening up relations with other corporate bodies at home as well as for international co-operation.

But while we welcome such cosmopolitan relations with Science, we have already special ties with Science nearer home. The British Academy is not indeed the child of the Royal Society, but the Royal Society showed no small interest in our founding. When the corporate organization of Learning was under discussion in 1901, opinion was divided as to whether the new body should be created by expansion of the Royal Society from within through the addition of a new section of Historical, Philological, and Philosophical studies, or by the founding of an independent Society. The prevailing opinion was in favour of the second alternative; but the difference of view concerned only the machinery for carrying out the scheme. The Royal Society showed their sympathy from the outset, and petitioned in favour of the grant of the Charter Though the Royal Society and the new Academy were independent bodies, the granting of a separate Charter did not, as was pointed out at the time, preclude the possibility of closer relations being established between them in the future. We still owe much to the friendly assistance of the Royal Society, to whom we are indebted this year for the use of their Rooms. The want of a domicile of our own has seriously hampered our work, and the courtesy extended to us in allowing us to hold our meetings in Burlington House is one which we deeply appreciate. Whether an Institute may some day be founded which will embrace the Royal Society, the British Academy, the Royal Academy of Arts, and other kindred bodies is perhaps a distant speculation, but the linking up of our Academy and the Royal Society as two kindred but independent bodies, would be the first and easiest step in the process. Apart from our origin and history we have many points of contact, and may I hope still be fellow-workers in elucidating some chapters in the History of the Sciences.

Co-operative enterprise in things of the mind is perhaps the most

signal achievement of our generation. Organized science on its physical side has here led the way. For the advance of Physical Science no observation is too minute, no contribution is unimportant. Modern scientific research demands a host of humble labourers in every field. The hewers of wood and drawers of water are as necessary as the men of genius, for while it is the case that nowhere does genius count for more, it is also true that nowhere does intelligent drudgery count so much. Learning, literary Learning, also seeks to be organized. The difficulties of this are greater, notably in England. The results of research outside the physical sciences do not impress the imagination by any visible conquest of nature, they do not at once compel acceptance, their value cannot be measured by equally sure tests, they have no obvious bearing on material welfare, and politicians and state departments can afford to neglect them. Fortunately, however, they possess for the workers themselves the inner secret of the success of science in other fields—the sense of progressiveness and of the discovery of truth, and the exhilarating consciousness of onward movement becomes stronger in proportion as the bonds of brotherhood in learning are drawn closer.

In my remarks to-day I have insisted chiefly on combined effort for great enterprises as the mark of an Academy of Learning. But projects of national or international significance are but the manifestation of a certain spirit that is of silent growth. The basis of union for big intellectual undertakings is generally laid in the sympathetic intercourse of small meetings—I will not say of committees, for as Newman observed, 'living movements do not come out of committees,' but of the meetings of friends and fellow-workers. The new idea, the particular project, may often be traced to the impulse given by some paper or discussion, or it may even originate in talk over the tea-table. I have been told by Fellows of the Royal Society that much of the Society's vitality is due not merely to the intrinsic merit of the papers read, but to the give and take of conversation at the ordinary meetings. Strangers are freely introduced. The great men and the small, the young and the old come together. Of the papers read a large proportion are not by Fellows of the Society but by pupils or fellow-workers or by independent students. In this atmosphere of intellectual partnership there is no sense of superiority, no cold isolation. The communications made include not only such as afterwards find an important place in the published transactions; they are often more or less informal, conveyed in brief oral statement, and giving the latest results of particular investigations. The best that is being done by workers up and down the

country is here brought to a focus and to the test of friendly discussion. I have often heard of the generous and unsparing pains taken by the Fellows and some of the greatest of the Presidents of the Royal Society to direct the energies of the younger men into fruitful regions of research.

Along lines such as these the work of our Academy may well be developed and its usefulness enhanced. It is true that from the nature of the subjects discussed our proceedings do not admit of precisely the same methods as are appropriate to those sciences which report or sift the results of laboratory experiments Our numbers, too, are much smaller than those of the Royal Society, and as a consequence our meetings are less fully attended But the very fact of our limited membership, distributed as it is over the whole of the United Kingdom, points, in my judgement, to the need of well thought out arrangements by which we may associate with ourselves and invite to our gatherings all who have the interest of true inquirers in any of the special studies which fall within our province. Already we have made some efforts in this direction We may perhaps proceed further and on a more definite plan, and so compensate in some degree for the drawbacks attaching to a Society with small and scattered membership. Learning, let us remember, is no longer the possession of a few, the privilege of an intellectual aristocracy. There is now nothing like a caste of learned men. Many who are unconnected with the official seats of learning contribute to the best and most highly specialized thought of our time. The British Academy should aim at becoming an intellectual centre and meeting-place not only of members of academic bodies and learned societies, but of smaller groups of students and even of isolated workers who are pursuing their own independent researches. The value also of the social side of learning must not be forgotten It was the discovery of Greece; and the old idea, so persistent in history, is still operative and true. Even under the vastly changed intellectual conditions of the modern world the corporate organization of learning cannot dispense with the free and friendly intercourse of individuals out of which arose the earliest and most inspiring type of Academy—the philosophic schools of Hellas.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS,

AND

'TENNYSON,'

BY THE PRESIDENT, S. H. BUTCHER

October 27, 1909 (the Tennyson Centenary)

I

SINCE the British Academy was founded seven years ago, two distinguished Presidents have occupied this chair; and you have now done me the honour—the surprising honour as it still is to me—of electing me as their successor in office Over the birth of the Academy Lord Reay presided. When our history comes to be written and our records consulted, it will be seen how much we owe both abroad and at home to his counsel, and how potent was his influence in determining the direction of our earliest efforts. He has, if I may so say, the freedom of the republic of learning in almost every European country, and, moreover, he can speak to every man in his own language. We looked on him as our ambassador accredited to all the learned bodies of the Continent and as welcomed by all. He was followed by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, whose tenure of office was to our deep regret cut short by illness. He too was a kind of international personage. His learning and distinction as a scholar, together with his official position as Director of the British Museum, marked him out as exceptionally fitted to discharge the duties of President. His organizing mind has left its impress in many memorable ways on the British Museum, and, had health permitted, we counted confidently on his rendering similar service to the British Academy. Now that he is recovering from the strain of overwork we shall hope again for his invaluable aid. By singular good fortune—let me add in passing—our connexion with the British Museum is not severed by Sir Edward's retirement. The new Director, Dr. Kenyon, a Fellow of the Academy, is a scholar and palaeographer who is known all over Europe. In the name of the Academy I would offer him our congratulations.

Of myself I shall say nothing in entering on office than this, that I have no international position, and do not even possess any facilities for international speech; indeed, I find a difficulty in making

myself understood in one language, and that my own. Having, however, spent most of my life as a teacher and student, I may be regarded as a sort of working-man's representative in one department of scholarship. I can only promise you my whole-hearted service and devotion to your interests.

My first duty now is to offer the welcome of the Academy to the new Fellows, whose names I enumerate in alphabetical order:—Professor Hume Browne, Lord Justice Kennedy, Professor C. S. Kenny, Dr. Hastings Rashdall, Dr. J. E. Sandys, Mr. Cuthbert H. Turner. Next let me mention the names of our newly elected Corresponding Fellows, who have gratefully accepted our invitation:—Mr. H. C. Lea of Philadelphia, whose obituary notice, however, we read with deep regret in the *Times* of October 26th; Dr. F. Liebermann of Berlin; Don Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo of Madrid; His Excellency M. Louis Renault of Paris; Professor E. Sievers of Leipzig; The Prince of Teano of Rome. I regret also to have to record the death of another of our Corresponding Fellows, M. Georges Picot of Paris.

II

Had the occasion been appropriate, I should have wished to speak to-day about the general functions of the British Academy and to submit some suggestions as to its future work. But we are met for a special commemorative purpose, and I am unwilling to take up more than a brief portion of your time. I propose, therefore, to touch slightly on a special topic, the relation of the British Academy to Literature. The question has been asked, Does the Academy exist for the encouragement of Letters or of Learning or of both? By the terms of our Charter its objects are 'the promotion of the study of the moral and political sciences, including history, philosophy, law, politics and economics, archaeology and philology'. In carrying out these objects, one of our primary interests is to take part in great international enterprises, which need the sanction and co-operation of learned bodies in different lands, enterprises which can only be carried out by State aid, hitherto denied to us, or by private munificence. Yet large and even world-wide as are our functions, we are still limited in our scope. Pure literature as such does not find a place here. The idea of forming an Academy on the model of the French Academy was rejected, not without deliberation. The decision, I imagine, was a wise one. Even in France, with its peculiar literary tradition, the attempt to pronounce judgement on living authors has been found a perilous task. Eminent merit, it is true, has seldom

been denied admission into the French Academy; on the other hand, many mediocrities have been enrolled among the Immortals This result is what we might expect. The tests of literary excellence are impalpable compared with those of eminent discovery in science. Literary fashion is a fleeting thing, and nowhere is it more unsafe than in literature to forestall the verdict of posterity. Literature, moreover, like religion and politics, is a subject on which every one fancies he has an equal right with all others to pass judgement; and, as a consequence, the pressure of outside opinion, in support of some ephemeral claim, has not unfrequently proved irresistible within the French Academy itself. Our Academy, for better or worse, is exempt from these attendant dangers, though the relief so obtained is not purchased without cost. Adverse critics may point to the apparent paradox of an Academy such as ours not being able to open its doors to George Meredith. Are you, they may say, a body of erudite pedants and nothing more? Possibly so; but not by any inherent necessity derived from our Charter. One or two considerations may be urged as showing that the divorce between Literature and Learning is not, or at least need not be, complete. In the first place, the man of learning who happens to have the gift of style ought not on that account to fall under the suspicion of being merely a *littérateur*. In our own day less than ever is learning the possession of any single class or confined to professional bodies, nor is the language of the learned a hardened dialect which is cut off from the speech and thought of the people British learning throughout its history and in all departments has maintained an alliance with literature, and the British Academy, without lowering its aim or assuming alien functions, may, if I mistake not, help to forge new links in that honourable alliance Next it may be pleaded as a mitigating fact, that literary criticism, based on historical or linguistic study or exhibiting philosophic thought, presents credentials which already find acceptance with the Academy, and between such criticism and literature proper no sharp dividing line can be drawn. Still the main position remains unaffected, that the highest order of literature, the literature of the imagination, cannot be ranged under the head of learning. Learning, moreover, can be organized; genius cannot be organized. Must the exclusion, therefore, of genius be absolute? Personally I think not. May not the Academy avail itself of the power conferred by the Charter to create Honorary Fellowships, and thereby bring in imaginative literature, whether it takes the form of drama, poetry, or fiction, and so ennoble Learning by association with Genius?

But whatever delicate questions may arise in defining the boundaries

between learning and literature and doing justice to the claims of the living, the Academy has felt itself to be within its proper sphere in commemorating great writers who are dead. Last year it organized the Milton Tercentenary Celebration; this year on the death of George Meredith it arranged for a memorial service in the Abbey, and paid a tribute which we believe was grateful to many friends of literature. To-day at the opening meeting of the session we propose to celebrate another centenary, and the task of preparing an address on Tennyson has been entrusted to Professor Henry Jones.

III

A hundred years have passed since Tennyson's birth, seventeen years since his death. It is too soon to attempt to fix his permanent place among English poets, but it is not too soon to feel assured that much that he has written is of imperishable worth. Will you bear with me if I offer some brief introductory remarks, not by way of critical estimate, but in loving appreciation of the poet and the man? And let me say at once how deeply all who care for Tennyson are indebted to the illuminating Memoir and Annotated Edition published by his son.

Tennyson's poetic career is in some respects unique in English literature. He fell upon a time when fiction, science, and sociology were displacing poetry. He succeeded in conquering the poetic indifference of his age. For nearly sixty years he held a listening and eager audience, including not only fastidious hearers but also the larger public. Probably no English poet except Shakespeare has exercised such a commanding sway over both learned and unlearned. He unsealed the eyes of his contemporaries and revealed to them again the significance of beauty. To the English people, and indeed the English-speaking race, he was not merely the gracious and entrancing singer, but also the seer who divined their inmost thoughts and interpreted them in melodious forms of verse.

At the outset of his poetic life, Arthur Hallam notes the 'strange earnestness of his worship of beauty'. Like Milton, he was studious of perfection. Like Milton, too, he had in a supreme degree the poet's double endowment of an exquisite ear for the music of verse, and an unerring eye for the images of nature. Like Milton, he acquired a mastery of phrase which has enriched the capacities of our English speech; and not Milton himself drew from the purely English elements in the language more finely modulated tones. No poet since Milton has been more deeply imbued with classical literature, and the perfection of form which he sought fell at once

into a classic and mainly a Hellenic mould. We find in him reminiscences or close reproductions not only of Homer and Theocritus, of Virgil and Horace, of Lucretius and Catullus, of Ovid and Persius, but also of Sappho and Alcman, of Pindar and Aeschylus, of Moschus, Callimachus, and Quintus Smyrnaeus, more doubtfully of Simonides and Sophocles We can follow the tracks of his reading also in Herodotus, Plato, Plutarch, and Livy His early volumes contain varied strains of classical and romantic legend. In some of the poems we are aware at once of the pervasive atmosphere and enchantment of romance, as in *The Lady of Shalott*, *Mariana*, *Sir Galahad*, and many more. Others—such as *Oenone*, *The Lotos-Eaters*, *Ulysses*, *Tithonus*—what are we to call them, classical or romantic? The thought and the form are chiefly classical, but the poems are shot through with romantic gleams and tinged with modern sentiment. Yet so skilful is the handling that there is no sense of incongruity between the things of the past and the feelings of a later day. The harmony of tone and colour is almost faultless, more so than in the treatment of the longer themes taken from Celtic sources. But while some poems are dominantly classical, others dominantly romantic, Tennyson's genius as a whole is the spirit of romance expressing itself in forms of classical perfection. To the romanticist he may seem classical, to the classicist he is romantic · romantic in his choice of subjects, in his attitude towards Nature, in his profusion of detail, in an ornateness sometimes running to excess, in his moods, too, of reverie or languor and in the slumberous charm that broods over many of his landscapes Yet he is free from the disordered individualism of the extreme romantic school Disquietude and unrest are not wanting, but there is no unruly self-assertion, the cry of social revolt is faintly heard, and, when heard, its tones are among the least Tennysonian. Those who demand subtle or curious psychology find him disappointing, his characters are in the Greek manner broadly human, types rather than deviations from the type. That he was capable of expressing intense and poignant feeling is shown by such impassioned utterances as those of *Fatima* and *Maud*, but passion with him is usually restrained. There are critics for whom passion is genuine only if turbid, just as thought is profound only if obscure; and for them Tennyson's reserve—again a Greek quality—seems an almost inhuman calm. His own most deeply felt experiences find their truest expression when passed through the medium of art; they come out tranquillized and transfigured. The sorrow and love of *In Memoriam* —which poem I take to be the supreme effort of his genius—are

merged in large impersonal emotions. The poem, as he himself says, 'is rather the cry of the whole human race than mine.' Tennyson's intense humanity gives rise to a peculiar vein of pathos, and even of melancholy. Side by side there are his 'mighty hopes' for the future and the power and 'passion of the past'—'the voice of days of old and days to be': on the one hand the forward straining intellect, on the other the backward glance, the lingering regret, and 'some divine farewell'. Those haunting and recurrent words, 'the days that are no more', 'for ever and for ever', and the 'vague world whisper' of the 'far-far-away', are charged with a sadness which recalls the pathetic but stoical refrain of 'Nequiquam' in Lucretius.

Throughout Tennyson's long career we can trace the essential oneness of his mind and art, beginning with his early experiments in language and metrical form. By degrees his range of subjects was enlarged; we are amazed at the ever growing variety of theme and treatment and his manifold modes of utterance. In some, as in his lyrics and dramatic monologues, he displays a flawless excellence, in almost all consummate art. But diverse as are the chords he has struck, the voice, the touch, the melody are all his own. In his latest poems we may miss something of the early rapture of his lyric song, but he is still himself and unmistakable, and had he written nothing but the lines *To Virgil* and the *Crossing of the Bar* he would surely take rank among the highest. We think of him primarily as the artist, but the artist and the man in him were never far apart; and as years went on his human sympathies, always strong, were strengthened and broadened, and drew him closer to the common life of humble people. We overhear more of 'the still sad music of humanity'. Towards the close of his life the moral and religious content of the poems becomes fuller with his deepening sense of the grandeur and the pathos of man's existence. Some see in this a weakening of his art, the intrusion into poetry of an alien substance. Yet eliminate this element from art, and how much of the greatest poetry of the world is gone! Now and then, it must be confessed, the ethical aim in Tennyson seems to some of us unduly prominent, but very rarely does the artist lose himself in the teacher or the preacher. He has a message to deliver, but it is not a mere moral lesson: its true appeal is to the imagination; put it into prose and it is no longer his. It lives only in its proper form of imaginative beauty.

Aristotle noted two types of Poet, the εὐφυής, the finely gifted artist, plastic to the Muse's touch, who can assume many characters in turn; and the μανικός, the inspired poet, with a strain of frenzy, who is lifted out of himself in a divine transport. Were we asked to

select three examples of the former type, one from Greece, one from Rome, and one from England, our choice from the ancient world would probably fall on Sophocles and Virgil, and might we not, as a fitting third, add Tennyson to the list? I do not attempt to determine their relative rank, but I do suggest that they all belong to the same family and that already in this centenary year of our poet we can recognize the poetic kinship. Each of the three had in him the inmost heart of poetry, beating with a full humanity and instinct with human tenderness, each remained true to his calling as an artist and pursued throughout life the vision of beauty, and each achieved, in his own individual way, a noble and harmonious beauty of thought and form, of soul and sense.

SUMMARY.

THE EVOLUTION OF ANCIENT INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

By A. A. MACDONELL

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read January 27, 1909

Owing to the total lack of works of an historical character in India from the rise of its literature (*c.* 1500 B C) to the Mohammedan conquest (*c.* A.D. 1000), the study of archaeology was relatively more important in India than in perhaps any other country. But the archaeological remains had been steadily disappearing from the face of the land. Their destruction had been arrested by the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act passed by Lord Curzon in 1904. The lecturer had during a recent tour of six months in India many opportunities of observing the beneficial effects of the Act. His paper traced through a period of nearly 2,000 years the development of Indian architecture from its earliest forms down to the fixed types of later ages. In the pre-Buddhistic period architecture was wooden, there being no temples or carved images of gods. The use of brick first appeared in the fifth century B C., and from the middle of the third century B.C the Buddhists began to build in stone

Buddhist Architecture —The history of Buddhist architecture might be divided into three periods. 250 B.C –A D. 50 ; A.D. 50–350 , A.D. 350–650 There were three classes of buildings Stūpas (topes), Chaityas (assembly halls or churches), monasteries. The Stūpa, a development of the low sepulchral mound of earth, was originally a hemispherical structure erected to enclose relics of Buddha , on the top was an ornament (called a tee) ending in one or more umbrellas It was shown how, by successive stages, both the Stūpa and the tee were elongated so as to assume the shape of a tower , the former then became attenuated, while the tee grew in height, the umbrellas becoming roofs, till it reached its final development in the nine-storied Chinese pagoda, in which the Stūpa portion had disappeared

The Professor then traced the history of the assembly halls, wagon-headed structures with aisles and an apse, under which was placed a small Stūpa as an object of veneration The earliest were rock-cut specimens dating from the third century B.C., and obviously imitating wooden buildings. The Stupa, originally quite plain, had in later centuries a figure of Buddha carved on its front, and finally (about A.D. 600) became a hollow cell with the figure inside. This marked the transition to Hindu architecture, in two early specimens of which the cell was semicircular at the back and square respectively.

The monasteries originally consisted of a square hall surrounded by a number of sleeping cubicles. Rock-cut specimens alone survived, there being altogether about 900. In the first period no figure sculpture appeared, and only towards its end four pillars supporting the ceiling were introduced. In the second period the number of pillars was gradually increased from twelve to twenty-eight, and a sanctuary containing a figure of Buddha was introduced at the back of the hall. The latest specimens at Ellora formed a transition to the earliest Hindu examples, from which they were hardly distinguishable.

The Dravidian Style.—All the evidence available tended to show that Hindu religious architecture was derived from earlier Buddhist types. The oldest specimens dated from about A.D. 600. Two styles could be clearly distinguished, each showing a definite type from the beginning the Dravidian or South Indian, and the Indo-Aryan or North Indian. The Dravidian temple was derived from the Buddhist monastery. Its plan was a square base containing the cell in which the image was kept; the cell was surmounted by a pyramidal tower, always divided into stories, and surmounted by a small dome either circular or pyramidal. The later Dravidian temples stood in a court surrounded by a wall, a special feature of which was the Gopuram, or great gateway, which was opposite the temple, and was surmounted by a storied tower resembling that of the shrine itself. The best specimen was the great temple at Tanjore, erected in A.D. 1025. In still later specimens successive surrounding courts were added, each with its Gopuram. These gateways increased in size and height as one proceeded outwards, and thus entirely obscured the tower of the central shrine. The most notable example of this defect was the Srirangam temple near Trichinopoly, the largest in India. A feature of these South Indian temples consists of their tanks surrounded by colonnades. The great temple of Rāmesvaram had magnificent corridors, one of them 700 feet in length. These temples had very elaborate pillars, which by about A.D. 1300 acquired a permanent type with conventionalized animals and riders affixed to them. A variety of the

South Indian style was the Chālukyan, the best specimens of which belonged to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D.

The Indo-Aryan Style.—This style was found only north of the twentieth degree of latitude. Here the square cell was surmounted by a curvilinear spire with a vertical band running up each face. The top was finished off with a fluted ornament somewhat flattened. In the earliest specimens a porch was added in front of the cell, but was not essential. The spire, though curved, was square in section. The earliest specimens were found at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa, beginning about A. D. 600, and coming down to A. D. 1100. A feature in the evolution of the northern temples was the gradual increase in the number of the porches to four. The origin of the Indo-Aryan spire had always been a puzzle to archaeologists. It could not have any connexion with the pyramidal Dravidian tower, nor with the long wagon-headed Buddhist assembly hall, which had no suggestion of a spire about it. Its prototype was to be found in the Stūpa. By the end of the Buddhist period, the Stūpa had become a hollow cell with a square base and an elongated dome. In the Indo-Aryan tower the dome was further elongated, and the corners of the square base were carried up to the top on the curvilinear face, the horizontal section of which thus became square also. The remarkable conclusion was thus reached that on the one hand the evolution of the Buddhist Stūpa resulted in the Chinese pagoda and the Indo-Aryan temple, and that on the other the Buddhist monastery was the prototype from which was developed the Hindu temple of Southern India. The successive stages of these developments were traced with the aid of over eighty lantern-slides.

THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER

THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER

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THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER

By the Rev. R. B. RACKHAM

COMMUNICATED BY THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

March 17, 1909

The Nave of Westminster was one hundred and fifty years in building, viz. from 1376 to 1528, but although it was not finished until two hundred and fifty years after Henry III had completed the eastern part of the church—the presbytery, choir, and transepts—yet the builders of the nave adhered to the original pattern and style of Henry's work. Differences there are no doubt in the details of their work, but they are such as escape the ordinary eye. This conservatism is almost unique in the history of our great medieval churches; Beverley is, I believe, the only other instance. It gives to Westminster Abbey a unity and a harmony which largely contribute to its special beauty. It is therefore interesting to inquire who were the builders and architects who were original enough not to seek after originality in their work. The hundred and fifty years during which the present nave was slowly rising to its completion witnessed many changes both in the monastery of St. Peter and in the adjacent palace of Westminster and since kings as well as abbots and monks had a share in its building, the story of the nave may justly claim a niche, however small, in the great edifice of English History.

The architectural history has been written by the architects, Sir Gilbert Scott,[1] Mr. Micklethwaite,[2] and Mr. Lethaby,[3] who have carefully studied the fabric and told us all that the stones have to tell. But we are especially fortunate in possessing among the muniments preserved in the Abbey itself the series—unhappily not entirely perfect[4]

[1] In *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, 1863: Mr Scott's name alone appeared upon the title page, but the book was in fact edited by Mr J H Parker. Mr. Burt was the source of information about the rolls.

[2] In *Westminster Abbey Historically Described*, Feasey and Micklethwaite, 1899.

[3] In *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, 1906

[4] See the table on p. 96.

—of the fabric rolls for the whole period. They are known as the *compotus* (i.e. account) rolls of the Warden of the *Novum Opus*. Their existence was indeed known at second hand to Sir Gilbert Scott. He derived some important information from them, and in his *Gleanings* he printed abstracts of them up to the time of Henry V (pp 253 f.) Further than this he did not go His interest was absorbed in the investigation of the history of the earlier and more important eastern part of the church, and the rolls from the time of Henry V to the end do not seem to have been looked at since the days of Richard Widmore, the historian of the Abbey in the eighteenth century.[1] Now, however, in the twentieth century they have once more been read, and this paper is an endeavour to make known the results of their examination It aims therefore at being not an architectural but a documentary history of the building of the nave.

(*The Novum Opus*)

A word of preface must first be said about the rolls of the *Novum Opus* A fire which destroyed nearly all the buildings of the monastery on March 29, 1298, was made the pretext of obtaining from the Pope the appropriation of the church—or, as we should say now, the rectory—of Longdon in Worcestershire. The appropriation was not, in fact, secured until the year 1335, but after that time the convent of Westminster received from the tithes of Longd[illegible] an annual rent of 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.). Th[illegible] the nucleus of a fund for building purpos[illegible] under the charge and administration [illegible] Warden of the New Work (*custos n*[illegible] among the other officers or obedientiaries [illegible] of the convent, and like them had to rend[illegible] his receipts and expenses. Such was the origi[illegible] new work' (*officium novi operis*), which lasted [illegible] of the monastery, and which was mainly responsibl[illegible] of the nave

From 1344 to 1365 the income from Longdon was de[illegible] rebuilding of the cloister, and after that it went to the reb[illegible] the infirmary. Presently, however, when the rebuilding of th[illegible] was undertaken, that became *par excellence* the *Novum Opus*.

[1] Widmore certainly read these rolls, and he has summarized their contents in his terse and masterly manner in his *History of Westminster Abbey*, 1751. See pp. 59–61, 80, 90, 111, 113, 118, 125 But the very terseness of his remarks has prevented them from attracting due attention.

£26 13*s.* 4*d.*, though it might represent from £300 to £400 of our money, was but a small income for so great a task. Accordingly steps were taken to increase the fund. In 1365 the convent purchased from the widow of one Robert Longdon certain lands and tenements in Westminster, for which the treasurer paid £66 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1375 he paid Robert Kentbury, a mason, £36 13*s.* 4*d* for the exchange of one of Longdon's tenements for a tenement which had once belonged to a certain Cardoyl. These 'rents within the township of Westminster' (*redditus infra villam Westm'*), otherwise 'Longdon's rents', were at first assigned to the sacrist, to whom properly belonged the care of the fabric of the church. Accordingly we find them entered by Richard Honyngton in his account for 1377-8; but in his next (extant) account for 1379-80 they are absent, so that we may assume that in that or the previous year they were given to the *Novum Opus*. If the above sums were all that was paid for these tenements, the investment was a lucrative one, for the average rental came to about £25 or £26 a year. Among them were two important hostelries in King Street, the Bell and the Sarsonhed[1]; the latter being situated at the corner where the street turned towards the great gate of the Palace. Moreover, in 1380-1 the 'monk baily' (i. e. bailiff) John Lakyngheth was commissioned to examine the accounts of the various officers of the convent to see what they could severally contribute to 'the work of the new church'. His estimate amounted to £245 6*s.* 4¼*d.*, or, deducting tenths, £213 18*s.* 7¼*d.*[2] But it does not appear that any contributions were paid to our account Longdon's rents, however, served as the sacrist's contribution, and it was probably in lieu of further contributions that the convent assigned to the *Novum Opus* the farm (*firma*) of the manor of 'Padington' which belonged to the almoner, and the farm of the manor of 'Hide', an estate which had been much improved by Nicholas Litlyngton when he was prior The rent of Paddington was £20 a year, and that of Hyde £13 6*s.* 8*d.* So when the *Novum Opus* rolls begin again after a long gap from 1365 to 1387, we find that the office enjoys an annual income of £85 a year.[3]

[1] i. e. the Saracen's Head.

[2] *Liber Niger*, ff. 85[b], 140: the MS. has £265 by mistake for £245.

[3] The rent of Hyde appears for the first time in 1390-1 It ought to be mentioned that Abbot Bircheston, who had been the first warden of the new work (+1341-4) and died in 1349, provided for his anniversary by leaving all the abbot's emolument derived from the market (*nundinae*) of St Edward *in usum et utilitatem operis claustralis et locutorii; quibus plenarie peractis, cedat*

(Langham and Litlyngton)

To come now to our subject, the building of the present nave of the church, the story of its commencement has been recently told elsewhere,[1] and we need only summarize it here. When Henry III rebuilt the eastern part of the church he left the old Norman nave standing at the west end of his new choir.[2] This Norman nave, which had been built in the twelfth century, must have been a massive building on the scale of the naves of Ely, Norwich, and Bury St. Edmunds. It was not so lofty as Henry's new choir, but was no doubt linked to it in a seemly manner. Moreover, it had been recently put in repair, or, as we should say, restored, in the years 1338-44.[3] Who then had the daring mind to determine that this great building must be demolished, and a new and still more noble nave erected? There is no doubt as to the answer. It was Simon Langham. Simon Langham was abbot here from 1349 to 1362, then he became successively Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury, and finally a Cardinal resident at Avignon. But he retained his love for Westminster, to which at his death in 1376 he left his accumulated wealth.

Langham became abbot at a time of expansion at Westminster, when the convent was endeavouring to correspond with the lofty ideal set before them in Henry's new church by renewing the other buildings of the monastery on a worthier scale, and he saw that these efforts must be crowned by the erection of a nave which

deinde totale eiusdem proficuum in sustentationem, usum et gubernaculum operis novae fabricae nostrae ecclesiae (Flete, ed. Robinson, p. 129). The *Novum Opus* enjoyed some little profit from this source, but the sacrist kept the greater part of it in his own hands.

[1] By the Dean of Westminster in an article on 'Simon Langham' in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1908.

[2] For the western limit of Henry's work see the diagram of the nave which Mr. A. G. Wallace has kindly drawn for me, and which shows the numbering of the bays which I have adopted.

[3] Cf. sacrist's roll for 1338: *in i intercluso faciendo inter novum opus et vetus tam in muris lapideis quam terreis* £4 2s. 3d., *pro coopertura australis ale veteris ecclesie deponenda et de novo facienda* £6 3s. 6d., *pro coopertura veteris ecclesie ruinosa scaffoldanda cum clatibus ne malum eveniret per decasum alicuius partis eiusdem* 28s. 2d. And *Novum Opus* roll 1341-4: 200 trees are bought and carried *usque bellfrey*, timber is raised to a height, boards are bought *pro tecto inferiori*; 4 stones are bought for capitals, and 11 corbels, and Walter le Bole receives £20 *pro iv fenestris et i magn' pelir emendand' et fac'*, and 30s. *pro aluris faciend'*; a plasterer is paid £2 *ad plastrand' et dealband' medietatem ecclesie*; and the lead bill comes to £71 18s. 4d. The work seems to have been finished, for the scaffolding is taken down, and the next account, Easter to Nov. 1344, is for work in the cloister.

should match the dignity of Henry's choir. He was called away, however, before he could initiate the enterprise; and his successor, Nicholas Litlyngton, who completed the new cloister in 1365, seemed to be absorbed in the task of rebuilding the domestic offices of the convent and his own house. But Langham, now cardinal, impatiently urged the inception of the work and promised £200 a year as soon as it should begin. Accordingly at Michaelmas 1375 Litlyngton made a start. Seven masons—and later ten—were set to break down the side of the old church next the cloister; and next year, having enough stone to build the wall 12 feet in height and 3 pillars in length, he writes to Langham's auditor. 'I myself laid the first stone on the first Monday in Lent [March 3, 1376] in honour of God and St. Peter and in the name of our most honoured lord [i e. the cardinal]'

Here, unfortunately, our information suddenly stops. There are no *Novum Opus* rolls extant from Michaelmas 1365 to Michaelmas 1387, the year after Litlyngton's death. But we may assume that for the last ten of these years the slender income of the *Novum Opus* was supplemented out of the legacy of the cardinal, who had died at Avignon on July 22, 1376. In the roll for 1387–8 we have this entry 'For the wages of three labourers breaking the walls of the old church (*frangent' muros veteris ecclesie*) and doing other things, and for other expenses incurred in the time of William Mordon,[1] £3 2*s.* 3*d.*' This is the last allusion to the breaking down of the old church,[2] which had thus extended over twelve years, 1375–87.

[1] William Mordon succeeded John Mordon the warden of the *N. O* (*ob* 1379) who had rebuilt the cloister (1344–65), and then the infirmary (1366–70) He was also sacrist from Oct 30, 1371 to Nov 30, 1377, and probably became warden when he was made sacrist. For the income from Longdon Rectory now appears in the sacrist's accounts, with that from Longdon's rents, and they both remain with him till 1377–8 (see above, p. 37). In these years W. Mordon spent a good deal of money on the *opus ecclesie*, but one or two items serve to show that this *opus* was confined to the eastern part of the church Thus in 1373–4 gargoyles are mentioned, and £7 11*s* was spent *in ccc pedibus de crestis pro arsbotamis* (archbuttresses): again in 1377–8 6 boatloads of stone were used up *circa batellament' ecclesie et super pinnacul' dom' capitular' et in al' locis in ecclesia.*

[2] Two entries in the *Liber Niger* refer to the disposal of the materials of the old church. On f. 80 we read *Dñs Nichũs Litelton tunc abbas Westm' cum perfecisset structuram edificii sui novi in placea sua apud Westm' petiit a conventu habere partem plumbi veteris ecclesie ad operiendum edificium suum novum* (viz. Jerusalem Chamber and the College Hall), the writer goes on to explain how the abbot managed to evade payment for the same. On f 145 b among extracts from the treasurer's rolls occurs this · *anno septimo* (1383–4) *solut' Willõ Mordon magistro novi operis pro meremio coopertur' veteris ecclesie in parte de xxvii li xiii s. iiii d. sic empt'* £6 13*s.* 4*d.* The

From our knowledge of subsequent events we can infer that what other work was done was confined to laying such new foundations as were necessary, and to raising the outer wall of the nave along its whole circuit (see pp 43-4).

(*Colchester, Peter Combe, and Richard II*)

Nicholas Litlyngton died on Nov 29, 1386. How much he had pressed on the work we cannot tell. Widmore, who does not speak without authority, says (*l. c.*, p. 59) · '[Simon Langham] bequeathed a great deal to the fabric, which, though intended, I apprehend, for the body of the church, Abbot Litlyngton applied to the out-buildings.'[1] The fact that there are no *N. O.* rolls for his time seems to suggest that Litlyngton kept the management of the cardinal's money under his own control. In any case his death was followed by an era of activity, when once his successor was fully established.[2] William Colchester was elected, but the king was angry at the choice, and the new abbot was not actually installed till October 13, 1387. There was also a new and energetic warden of the *N. O.*, Peter Combe, who had been appointed sacrist at Michaelmas 1385, and entered on his new office at Michaelmas 1387. With Peter Combe the account rolls begin again, starting with a deficit of £28 passed on from William Mordon.

The new activity was largely due to royal help. Richard II was devoted to the Church of St. Peter at Westminster[3]; and now, being twenty years of age, promised £100 a year to the new work, starting from Easter 1387. But the political misfortunes which almost immediately ensued hindered him from fully carrying out his promise.[4] However, owing to the war with France, which

treasurer at that time was making large disbursements for rebuilding the offices of the convent

[1] Litlyngton left some money for the work: in 1387-8 the warden received £60 *per manus Iohannis Caunterbury ex assignatione Nicholai Lythngton quondam abbatis.*

[2] In 1387-8 the masons work only seventeen weeks, but in the next and following years for fifty-two weeks The rolls of the *N. O* run, as a rule, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, so for accuracy's sake we have to cite them thus, 1387-8; but the chief body of the work may generally be ascribed to the latter of the years.

[3] As appears very evidently from a paper read before the British Academy by the Dean of Westminster on *An Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler.* In his will Richard claimed to have started the new work: *de omnibus localibus residuis . . . . perficiatur nova fabrica navis ecclesie sancti Petri Westm' per nos incepta* (Rymer, *Foedera*, viii. 76).

[4] The only payment recorded before 1393-4 is £26 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1390-1, but the accounts for 1389-90 and 1391-3 are missing.

had put into the king's hands the alien priories in England, he was able to find another way of helping the convent In 1389 he gave them the priory of Folkestone, which produced £20 a year. Then in 1391 he gave another alien priory, Stoke by Clare, on condition that the convent should pay out of the profits £100 a year to the new work in lieu of his promised contribution, and another £100 to the king himself (*Westm. Munim.* 6226). This arrangement was cancelled when in 1395 Stoke Priory was made indigenous, and instead of it the priory had to pay the convent the sum of 1,000 marks, spread over five years, being the fine to the king for their new charter of privilege.

In 1394 Queen Anne died, and Richard was distracted with grief But her magnificent funeral in the Abbey proved a godsend to the *Novum Opus*, so great were the perquisites and the annual oblations on her anniversary which fell to its lot. For cloths of gold (*panni aurei*) offered at the funeral the warden received £66 13*s.* 4*d.*; and the same amount for the hearse (*hercia*).[1] Next year Angelo Christoforo gave £111 13*s.* 4*d.* for sixty-nine 'clothes of gold *de Raginas*'; Robert Ashcombe gave £13 6*s.* 8*d.* for three and a half white cloths (*panni albi coloris de Cipris*), other cloths fetched £6 10*s.* In 1395-6 'gold clothes offered at the anniversary of Queen Anne' fetched £3 13*s.* 4*d.*; and in the following year similar cloths were sold to William Horscroft for £42 13*s.* 4*d* There is yet another sum of £40 mentioned in a later account, which makes the whole sum amount to £351 5*s.* 4*d* Besides this there were gifts from the king, amounting to £266 13*s.* 4*d.*,[2] and an offering of £66 13*s.* 4*d.* from John of Gaunt.

With all these gifts and revenues Peter Combe, in the eight years alone for which we have his accounts, had received £2,192 10*s.* 4¾*d.*, and when he ceased to be warden on Nov. 25, 1399, soon after Richard's abdication, he left a deficit of £82 13*s.* What then had he done with this large sum, equal to something between £20,000 and £30,000 of our money?[3] To answer briefly, Peter Combe's great work was the purchase and placing of the marble pillars. In 1387-8 he paid £10 to a 'mason of Corfe' in part payment of £40 for one 'piler' of marble; and the last payment for marble (of £80), which must have

[1] In return for this the warden had to spend £20 in purchasing black cloth for 100 tunics, the making of which cost 35*s.* 4*d.* more, for the day of the funeral.

[2] Viz. £60 in 1393-4, £106 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1394-5, and £100 in 1396-7.

[3] A great deal of it had to be spent in necessary and incidental expenses, such as *redditus resoluti*, tenths, 'regards,' &c.

completed the series of pillars, occurs just after his time, in 1403-4.[1] The marble came from Purbeck; and the 'mason of Corfe' is otherwise 'John Mahu [or Mayew] marberer', who receives every year a 'robe'. The price of a 'piler' was £40, but some years £60 or £80 was paid. Such payments may have been either for two pillars or for one of the more massive piers under the towers. In all £490 was spent on marble pillars This falls not far short of £520—the cost of ten pillars at £40 plus two pillars at £60; and as between 1387 and 1404 the accounts for six years are missing, we may assume without hesitation that all the pillars were in position by 1403 (see p. 45). It ought not to be forgotten that for this rich and striking feature of the nave we are indebted to Abbot Litlyngton Langham, in his anxiety to see the work well advanced before his death, suggested having piers of stone. But the suggestion was not adopted by Litlyngton, although he himself did not live to see any of the marble in position.

Meanwhile the building of the walls was not neglected. In 1387-8 we find five masons working for seventeen weeks only; but the next and following years they work throughout the year, and the number of masons begins to increase until there are twenty at work in 1397. This does not include the master mason, Master Henry Yevele (Zevelee, Zyeveley), who has succeeded to John Palterton.[2] Yevele was, as Mr. Lethaby informs us, the king's master mason; for his work at the abbey he received an annual fee of £5 a year with a furred robe (10*s.* to 15*s.*). In 1394-5 we find the warden building a house for the masons, roofed with tiles, which was called the 'masons' logge'. There are indications that this was on the north side of the nave (see p 55), and, if so, this must have been the beginning of that building which, after having been occupied by the masons for about 140 years, became a private dwelling-house, but still retained the title of 'masons' lodge' until, together with the other houses on the north side of the nave, it was removed in 1740.[3] Another house was built for the masons in Tothill Street, and later on the master mason occupied one of the sacrist's houses. The masons formed then, as they do to-day,

[1] For details see Appendix I, p. 83

[2] John Palterton was master mason in 1349: the latest mention of him occurs in the sacrist's roll of 1373-4. For Yevele see Lethaby, *l. c.*, pp. 212-17. He made the tombs for Cardinal Langham and Queen Anne.

[3] It was Maurice Pickering's house, *c.* 1590; he was followed by Sir Edward Zouche, 1608; Dudley Norton came next, 1610; then in 1668 it was made into three small houses by John Shorter. See *Westminster Abbey in the Seventeenth Century* (Royal Institution paper, April 29, 1904), p. 7.

an Abbey 'staff'; and the warden paid them their wages week by week. There is no trace of any special guild of masons, or of any contract work undertaken by the master mason except in the single instance of Robert Stowell's 'convention' in 1489 (see p. 73)

The stone came from Reigate, and from this time down to the sixteenth century, if we may use the metaphor, there flowed every year a stream of stone, of varying volume, from the Reigate hills down to Westminster. In 1387 the warden was renting a quarry at 'Chalfdon' for £3 6*s*. 8*d*. a year and working it himself; but four or five years later he found it more convenient to give up the quarry and buy the stone there instead. The stone was carried in carts to Batrichesey (or 'Bateisey', as it is first called in 1447-8), where a garden called Briggekourt was hired for its storage at 3*s*. 4*d*. a year. Thence it was conveyed by boats to Westminster Mill, and thence again by carts to the lodge or church. In the middle of the fifteenth century the point of debouchement on the Thames was shifted to Wandelesworth, about which time we hear of the boats as 'showtes'.[1] In 1473-4 there was another move to 'le Fauxhalle' (or Fawkeshall), where a piece of land was rented from the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, for 3*s* 4*d*. a year, and a wharf was built in 1476-7 at a cost of £11 (*le wharf apud Fawkeshall*).

Besides Reigate stone some 'Northern stone' was bought in 1393-4, and the following year sixty-two 'tontyt' of stone *de Came* at 6*s* a tontyt, and sixty-four 'tontyt' of Northern stones at 7*s*. 6*d* a tontyt Such purchases recur subsequently. The Caen stone was, I take it, for mouldings and windows, and therefore gives us a hint as to the progress made in the outside walls. This is confirmed by the payments for ironwork (*ferramenta*) for windows. In Peter Combe's time we have mention of ten windows; but as there are four years without accounts we may well conclude that most of the windows of the ground floor of the church had been completed by him and that the aisle walls therefore were nearing the triforium level.[2] And if we picture a double row of marble pillars standing between them, we shall see the nave as it stood at the end of Richard II's reign. For this view we have the support of expert opinion. Mr. Micklethwaite (*l c.*, p. 87) says· 'The carving in the wall arcade . . . is quite "decorated" in character, and I think that the whole of the outer walls were begun and carried to some height in

[1] 1447-8 *shouthire*, 1475-6 *le showtes, showtemen*: in 1474-5 we have *cum u lighters* (from Rotherhithe)

[2] For details from which experts can draw more accurate inferences see Appendix I, p. 84.

the fourteenth century.' Mr. Lethaby also thinks (*l c.*, p. 205) that we may look upon Henry Yevele 'as the designer of the nave and of even the lower part of the west front, of which the porch so closely resembles the porches of Westminster Hall and Winchester Cathedral'.

(*Cessation of the Work*)

On May 29, 1399, Richard II crossed over to Ireland, taking Abbot Colchester with him. Two months later Henry of Lancaster was master of England, and Richard abdicated on Michaelmas Day. Henry IV could hardly be expected to look with favour on a monastery which had been so intimately connected with Richard. Even though William Colchester was not the plotting abbot that Shakespeare represents, Bishop Merks, of Carlisle, a stanch partisan of Richard, had been a Westminster monk and kept up a close friendship with Colchester. Consequently we are not surprised that, though he died at Westminster, Henry had chosen to be buried at Canterbury. The *Novum Opus* was soon to feel the change of sovereign. Peter Combe's place, both as warden and sacrist, was taken by Ralph Tonworth. Henry Yevele, who died in 1400, was succeeded by a new master mason, who bore the same name as the abbot, William Colchester. The income from Stoke had reached its natural limit, and Folkestone Priory also ceased to contribute, the manors of Paddington and Hyde were withdrawn from this account; and there were no royal contributions. Consequently the work soon ceased also.[1] In 1403–4 four labourers work for six weeks—that is all. Next year absolutely nothing is done. The building itself bears evidence of this sudden cessation. Mr. Micklethwaite writes, in continuation of the passage already quoted. 'But a good deal of the western part, and the bay with the door on the north side, have the carving left in block, which seems to tell of a cessation of the work when the carving of the part next the cloister was finished, and the rest only in progress'

[1] After his first year William Colchester receives no fee, but only his furred robe. The sacrist's rolls show how the walls were protected In 1407–8 Ralph Tonworth answers for *v fothers et iii wayes plumbi supra muros et columpnas ecclesie per estimacionem*: by 1411 the amount has increased by 2 wayes. It is tempting to suppose that the south aisle east of the west cloister door must have been temporarily covered in, in order to make that door of service for the Sunday procession, &c, but there is no notice of any roofing or of any *clausura*. In 1394–5, £8 was paid for 200 pieces of *gross' merem'*, but there is no other indication in the account that they were used for this purpose, and this kind of timber is generally used for house-building. Two shops were rebuilt (*de novo edificat'*) in 1398–9; and in 1410–11 two new houses appear in the rental (besides the masons' lodges which had been built).

It is only fair to mention that Ralph Tonworth bought a 'peler' of marble in 1400–1, and another in 1401–2, and that he paid £80 for marble in 1403–4. But this last payment must, I think, have been for marble already delivered and placed in position. For no masons' work is paid for in this or the following years nor is there any marble in the 'store' which Tonworth hands over to his successor at the expiration of his term of office on Nov 22, 1411. The name of this successor is not given, he may have been Peter Combe, who at this date returned to the sacrist's office, or Richard Harweden, whom we find in office at Michaelmas 1413. In consequence of Tonworth's inactivity[1] the income of the *Novum Opus* had begun to accumulate, and though the convent found it useful for other purposes, he was able to hand over to his successor £144 9*s.* 10*d.*, together with a considerable amount of Northern stone. By Michaelmas 1413 this surplus had increased to £259 1*s.* 9*d.*, and then the abbot and convent, in view of the change in the state of affairs which is about to be related, appropriated the money to various purposes, and used it for paying off the debts of other offices, until only £3 was left, and this was allowed to the warden as a gift.[2]

(*Henry V*)

Henry IV died on March 20, 1413—by an irony of fate in the abbot of Westminster's house. The new king, we are told, betook himself that night to the anchorite of the abbey. Did he then vow the completion of the nave? In any case, Henry V was shocked to see the nave of the church in which he was crowned in such a ruinous state to quote his own words, *a diu ruinam passa fuit et adhuc infecta remanet.* He determined to wipe out the disgrace, and himself undertook the work. He assigned to it 1,000 marks a year (500 from the Hanaper, and

[1] It does not follow that Tonworth was personally responsible for this inactivity. He was also sacrist from 1399 to 1411, and seems to have acted with efficiency He inherited from his predecessor Peter Combe a deficit of £82 13*s* (besides Peter's deficit in the *Novum Opus* of over £70), and in his accounts caustically alludes to moneys which had not been collected, *quos tamen P Combe colligere potuisset si debitam diligentiam ad hoc fecisset* This deficit Tonworth worked off, and in 1411 handed over a balance of £3 15*s.* 6*d* We also learn from the *Inventory of the Vestry* made by four monks of whom Tonworth was one in 1388, but containing later entries (edited by Dr Wickham Legg for the Society of Antiquaries, 1890), that he made most liberal gifts to the vestry, which we cannot here enumerate.

[2] £5 was given to the prior *pro novo edificio suo hoc anno de novo constructo.*

500 from the customs of wool), and appointed Richard Whityngton, then Surveyor of the Customs, and Richard Harweden, a monk of Westminster (the *custos novi operis*), his commissioners for the expenditure of the same with full authority, subject only to the supervision of the Duke of York and the Bishop of Winchester (Beaufort). It is interesting to find the great citizen of London so closely associated with the abbey of Westminster, but his name does not come altogether as a surprise, for in the roll for 1401–2 occurs this entry—'*de Ricardo Whytyngton ad opus nove ecclesie* £6 13*s*. 4*d*.'

The king's commission[1] is dated Dec. 14, 1413, a previous commission to order the impressment of masons, carpenters, and others is dated Aug. 24 (*Munim.* 6232).[2] But the work actually began on July 7, 1413. There are extant three account rolls of the two Richards, viz. from July 7, 1413 to Christmas 1416, from Christmas 1417 to Christmas 1418, and from Christmas 1420 to Christmas 1421; together with an account of all the moneys received from Henry Cays, the Warden of the Hanaper (*custos hanaperie regis*), from March 21, 1413 to Aug. 31, 1422. These moneys amount to £2,264, which is at least £500 less than the full amount promised, for the payment was a year and a half in arrear when Henry V died. Similarly the 500 marks a year from the customs do not appear to have been regularly paid. Our accountants appear to have received, besides the sums from the Hanaper, only £966 13*s*. 4*d*. for the 5½ years whose accounts remain.[3] If we add £630 6*s*. 8*d*. for the missing 3½ years, the total comes to £1,597; and adding this to the £2,264 from the Hanaper, we get a grand total for Henry's reign of £3,861 (instead of the £6,333 6*s*. 8*d*. promised, i.e. 1000 marks for 9½ years). To this we must add, though it appears nowhere in the commissioners' accounts, an annual sum of from £25 to £35[4] paid over by the warden of the new work, being the balance of his fund after he

[1] Printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, IX, p 78, and Scott's *Gleanings*, p 213

[2] From references kindly given me by Dr. J. H Wylie, I find that similar orders were issued on Nov. 8, 1413, and March 8, 1414

[3] The details are—

1413. £66 13*s*. 4*d* from the customs.
1414. £233 16*s*. 8*d*. from the customs.
[? 1415] £200 through the Bishop of Norwich (R. Courtenay).
1416. £133 6*s* 8*d* from the king.
1418. nil.
1421. £333 6*s*. 8*d*. from the king.

[4] The total amount paid 1413–22 was £279 15*s*. 6*d*., which will bring the total expenditure on the fabric up to about £4,140.

had paid various incidental expenses, which were calculated upon a liberal scale. We ought in fairness to add that he supplied the annual 'robes' for the masons, over twenty in number: and in the first and last year (1413–14 and 1421–2) he paid also for their *noneschynchys* (*nonsshense*) or luncheons (£4, £8). In the intervening years this expense was borne by the treasurer or the sacrist of the convent.

The account rolls are for the most part merely summaries of materials purchased and payments made, but the quantities show with what vigour the work was pressed on. Thus in the first roll (from July 1413 to Christmas 1416) we find the names of twenty-six merchants from whom stone was bought, and the amount is this:

1,178 cartloads of Reigate stone.
477 *doliat'* (cartloads) of stone 'de Stapulton' (in Yorkshire).
359 *doliat'* (cartloads) of stone 'de Bere' (in Devon).
399 *doliat'* (=17 boat loads) of Kentish Ragg.

In all 2,413 loads.[1] Twenty masons were employed all the time, with six casual masons for seventy weeks. For their needs a new masons' lodge was constructed within the church, where indeed there appear to have been two lodges—one roofed with tiles, and one thatched. The fee of the master mason, William Colchester, was increased to £10.

Although the rolls are of this character, they contain enough evidence to indicate the progress made. Thus 'in the third year' (March 21, 1415 to March 21, 1416) '12 bases, 24 pilers, and 24 chapitrells' of marble were bought of John Russe and Richard Knapp for £16, including the *frettag'* and *factur' in grosso.* The numbers of these bases, shafts, and capitals agree exactly with the numbers now existing on one side, i. e. six bays, of the triforium. And that it was the south side which was built is proved by the important fact that the south aisle was roofed this same year (as will appear later on). Four men had been employed at Hendon in cutting down wood *pro tecto coster' navicule mon'*, and as a result ninety-two carts of timber were taken thence to the abbey *pro tecto coster' et gistes navis.* One carpenter was employed the whole three years (160 weeks) in working *circa factur' scaffold' et factur' de novo tectur' unius coste navicule monasterii*, and for seventy-seven days he had the help of four other carpenters. Lastly, nineteen carrats of lead were bought of Robert Thorley 'in the third year' *pro una costa navis* (£88 13*s.* 4*d.*).

[1] 'Came' stone appears in 1417–18 (41 *dol.*) and 1420–1 (181 *dol.*).

'In the fourth year' (March 21 to Dec. 25, 1416) the same amount of marble was purchased, viz. 12 bases, 24 pilers, 24 chapitrells, obviously for the triforium on the north side. But the work was not sufficiently advanced, for at Christmas they remain in the unused 'store'. They are still in the store at Christmas 1417; but by the end of next year, Christmas 1418, they have been used, all that is except 'ten great stones of marble called chapitrells'. Now in this same year we find from the account that the north aisle was roofed. One carpenter was employed for twenty-eight weeks: four others for forty-five days in cutting down timber at Hendon *pro coopertura coste ecclesie ac factura et levac' eiusdem in ecclesia.* Two sawyers were also occupied in sawing 4,100 feet of 'bords' and other work *circa coopertuam coste predicte.* Two masons were engaged in taskwork *circa operac' voc' Lentayll* [= *le entaille*] *de diversis corbell'* (37*s.* 8*d.*), i. e. the carving of corbel stones. And 5½ carrats of lead were bought *pro coopertura coste borialis ecclesie.*

The ironwork, viz. for *longis staybarrys, circul', crochettes*, &c., in the first three years, weighing 1,648 lb., 575 lb., 416 lb., and also 732 lb. in 1417–8, may have been for finishing off the windows in the north aisle, or for the windows in the ground floor under the towers, with perhaps the round windows in the triforium (cf. *circul'*).[1]

At the time which we have reached, Christmas 1418, changes are at hand. Abbot Colchester died in October 1420, and Richard Harweden was appointed his successor by a papal provision. This was no doubt obtained by Henry V as a reward for Harweden's diligent supervision of the work. Harweden consequently vacated the convent office of warden of the new work, which was given to Walter Coggeshall, but he continued to act as the king's *supervisor*. In the roll for 1420–1 we find that William of Colchester, the mason, has also departed, and his place is taken by John Thirsk.[2] These

[1] It may be useful to collect some notices of the implements required. 'Boards called *regold, waynyschoote et estrychboorde*' are bought for the masons' 'moulds', or, as they are now called, templates. Two long poles of fir were used *pro le trasour* in 1460–1 we come across *le tracynghous.* A wheel was bought from Master Nicholas Walton for raising up stones, &c. (53*s.* 6*d.*): this must be the 'great wheel', which fills an important part in the accounts, and of which we have a picture in Islip's obituary roll (see p. 81). There was a great rope *voc' haunser*: and a stone for sharpening the tools, *voc' gress'*. From Robert Couper were also bought a great balance, *statera,* for weighing the stone (26*s.* 8*d.*), and a *nov' ffern'* (14*s* 8*d.*). The latter perhaps is *le verne,* which was mended in 1423–4 (for 2*s.*), and which seems to have been a windlass; cp. 1447–8, *pro emendac' le verne super ecclesiam, pro emendacione le vernehede.*

[2] Sometimes *Thresk* or *Thrusk.* He is John of Thirsk, and his real name seems to have been Crowche: see rolls 1433–4 foll. William Colchester went

changes were precursors of yet another change which was to have a far more serious effect upon the new work. For Henry himself died on August 31, 1422. At his death we may picture the nave thus. The second—the triforium—story is finished, that is to say, the walls and the roofing of the aisles of the building are complete up to the clerestory level, and above this great progress has been made with the walls of the clerestory, but how far they had been raised we cannot say—perhaps they have almost reached the roof level.[1] In 1908, there having been occasion for the erection of a staging in the nave so as to project from the triforium level on the north side, a scaffold was raised upon this to enable the workmen to repair one of the clerestory windows, and they found that the stone-work at the base of the window was considerably weathered. This is evidence that at least the lower part of the clerestory had been exposed to the weather for a long time before the roof was put on. With regard to the west end we have no definite information We have no ground for assuming that it had been neglected, but it seems probable that the work there was carried on at a much lower level. We shall come across some indications of this in the next reign (see p. 55).

(*From 1422 to 1467*)

The death of Henry V, although not so disastrous to the New Work as the deposition of Richard II had been, nevertheless entailed serious consequences. The grant of 1000 marks a year at once came to an end; the direction of the work returned into the hands of the warden of the *Novum Opus*, who could only continue operations on a very much smaller scale, and after a few years, owing to various circumstances presently to be noticed, the work sank to a very low ebb indeed. To sum up, although it never actually ceased, upon the death of Henry V it entered upon a period of decline, which lasted for forty-six years, until the year 1468, when a revival came, and an impetus was given which carried it to its conclusion. It might be thought that this decline was due to the spirit of the age and the political unrest which culminated in the Wars of the Roses It did indeed reflect the spirit of the age; but it is surprising how little the internal life of the abbey was affected by outside events.

to York in 1416 (Lethaby, p. 206): in 1420 he is succeeded by a John from Yorkshire.

[1] The walls must have been ready for the roofing—one bay in 1469, three bays in 1474, and the rest in 1478, see below

It may be as well to collect here all the references in these rolls to the external history of the time, beyond the frequent recurrence of tenths and subsidies. In 1425-6 £2 is contributed towards 'a certain gift given to the Duchess of Bedford when coming from the parts of France'. In 1426-7 stone bought at 'Seyntkateryne's' has to be carted to Westminster *causa factur' et emend' pontis London'*. In 1449-50 6*s*. 8*d* is paid to the king *pro vill' de Calys* In 1457 the master mason had to ride to the Lord Chancellor *pro i saufcondite ad providend' pro lapidibus a partibus transmarinis*, i.e. for the Caen stone.[1] In 1459-60 4*s*. 4*d*. was paid (or contributed) *pro i equo empt' pro ducissa Ebor'* Next year we have an important item which must refer to Edward IV's entry into London. 10*s*. was paid *fratri Thome Cornewell* (the sacrist) *pro conductione hominum ad vigiland' et salvo custodiend' ecclesiam tempore turbido*. A similar entry occurs in 1470-1, which likewise must refer to Edward's return from abroad and re-establishment on the throne: *et sol' pro tuicione sanctuarii tempore adventus soldariorum* 13*s*. 4*d*.

It was not then the political unrest which hindered the progress of the nave. It was for one thing the loss of royal help: for when Henry VI came of age, his piety and devotion spent themselves upon his new foundations of Eton and King's College and he did nothing for Westminster, although he had chosen it for his place of burial We cannot, however, altogether exonerate the abbots and the convent in this matter. It is evident that they made no special effort to raise money either from outside or from within, out of the resources of the abbot or of the convent. Richard Harweden having won for himself the abbacy was apparently content to 'go slow'. His successor, Edmund Kyrton (1440-62), who had been head of Gloucester Hall at Oxford, was a scholar and a theologian rather than a practical administrator. George Norwych, who came next (1462-9), involved the abbey in debt Nor were the wardens of the new work men of character, if we except the first two—Nicholas Ashby (1423-33), who became prior in 1435 and bishop of Llandaff in 1440, and Edmund Kyrton (1433-7). After these two comes a rapid succession of names which seems to hint at a somewhat unsettled régime and the want of a strong guiding hand—John Frank, John Flete[2] for a year, Thomas Pomeroy, Edmund Down, John Flete

[1] A *salvus conductus pro le Canestone* was also required in 1472-3, and was then only obtained *cum magna difficultate*. To obtain it cost the warden over 30*s*.

[2] John Flete is the medieval historian of the Abbey. He became prior (1456-65), as did Thomas Arundell (1474-82). There are some gaps in the

again for half a year (1456–7), Thomas Arundell, William Barnell, and Thomas Ruston (1462–7).

(*Manorial obligations of the Novum Opus*)

Further, the *Novum Opus* had now become, in view of its income as well as of its responsibilities, one of the more important 'offices' of the convent, and it was thought right that it should bear its share of the public burdens. Accordingly during this period we find increasing calls made upon it. Thus we find it paying pensions to aged monks, to the succentor (3*s.* 4*d.* a year), and to others, and giving presents (*xennia*) to monks when they first celebrate mass or preside in the refectory, to the prior (3*s.* 4*d.* a year from 1461–2 onwards), and sometimes to the abbot, as e.g. in 1452–3—paid for *vi grene trees dat' dño abbati* 2*s.* 8*d*, also *ii dossein sokers* 1*s.*, and *iii wodecokkes* 1*s.* If there was a balance in hand at the annual audit, grants were made in relief of other offices, as e g. for the salaries of the paid singers (*pro cantat' secular'*), or to pay the debts of past officers. In 1423–4 the auditors allowed 36*s.* 5*d.* to the warden 'for his labour', and this became an annual allowance, which, after some variation, was fixed at £2, *pro suo bono et assiduo labore.* After 1457 there was also a regular allowance, generally 8s. 4*d.*, 'for a recreation for the abbot (or prior) and auditors at the time of the audit.'

The external expenses of the 'office' were also on the increase. The *custus domorum*, which included not only the repairs but also the improvement of the property,[1] had already become a serious item; and now it was decided that for the future the *Novum Opus*, which had hitherto received the rents of Paddington and Hyde, should bear the responsibilities and the expenses of the lordship of those manors. It is right to add that, in compensation for these new charges, the convent assigned to the *N. O.* certain rents, amounting to £11–13 a year, which appear in the rolls for the first time in 1455–6[2] as *Redditus extra villam Westm'*. They came from various lands and tenements situated in Westbourne, Paddington, Kensington,

rolls, chiefly from 1437 to 1442, and from 1451 to 1455. The latter gap is partly made up for by some accounts of William Thornewerk, collector of the rents. From these we gather that he made the payments and acted generally as agent for the warden.

[1] In 1486–7 Esteney rebuilt *le Sarsonhede* and adjacent tenement, and built three new tenements *iuxta portam borialem sanctuarii.* The expense was £230, but a legacy of £69 had been left to the *N O.*, and it was allotted to this purpose.

[2] The year in which the lawsuit with the vicar of Longdon began.

'Knyghtbrigge,' and 'Eyfeld'. To these were added in 1461–2 some further lands in Westbourne and Durbarfeld (13s. 4d.), and with these properties went the possession of the wood of Estgrove.[1]

The manorial obligations incurred by the *Novum Opus* may be summed up under these heads (1) The manor of Hyde had been much improved by Nicholas Litlyngton when prior (1350–62), and consequently the convent agreed to keep an anniversary for him on St. Nicholas' Day (Dec. 6) out of its revenues. The *Novum Opus* began to pay for this anniversary in 1445–6, the expense being 4s to 5s for forty tapers to burn in St. Nicholas' Chapel, 3s. 4d. for the 'bishop of St Nicholas', that is the boy-bishop, and 20s to 30s for a pittance, that is an extra dish at the convent's dinner.[2]

(2) In 1442–3 this entry occurs *Solut' in marescalcia dñi regis pro diversis amerciamentis pro manerio de Hyde*, 26s. 8d. These amercements in the king's marshalsea become almost an annual charge of about £2 on the manor of Hyde. Paddington was also liable to the same. An explanation of the charge is probably to be found in these entries in 1483–4 *In regard' dat' servient' dñi regis in officio stabuli sui pro favore habend' in capiend' aven' infra dictum manerium* (Hyde and Knightsbridge) 7s., *et in regard' dat' Willmo Gerard pro suo assiduo labore fact' dicto servient' etc*. 6s. 8d.

(3) The scouring of ditches was a constant expense. There were ditches running from Eyhill to Paddington, between Knightsbridge and Kensington ('Hyde ditch,' 1461–2), Hyde and Paddington, Paddington and Kilburn (1455–6), Tyburn and 'Bayardyswaterynge' (1461–2), round Westbourne wood, and at Estgrove—all these had to be periodically cleaned.[3] This carried with it the upkeep of bridges, and we find them at Paddington, at Westbourne (*Westbornebrigge*, 1459–60), at Bayardswatering (1508–9), and between Knightsbridge and Hyde, i.e. the Knight's Bridge.[4] Failure to fulfil his

[1] Payments are made to John Wilkins and others (5s. in 1455–6, 6s. 8d. in 1459–60) for a *venella* or lane *apud Tyburn*, for which the *N. O.* seems to have been responsible. John Wilkins elsewhere appears as leader of the jurors of Middlesex.

[2] In 1450–1 the details are thus given :—

'First for roget grete gurnard cunger & a chyne of fressh sammon 16/6
Item for herbes for sauce and brede and vynegre 4^d
,, payed to the cook for his labour 4^d
,, yeven unto the Bisshop of Seint Nicholas 3/4
,, payed for the lyghte of Seint Nicholas 5/'.

[3] An annual stipend of 30s. was paid to Richard Roberts for hedging and ditching at Westbourne and Estgrove. after 1460 in his place we find a *custos bosci de Estgrove*.

[4] Adjoining this bridge was a tenement called Lazarcotes—the name first appears in 1463–4—which paid a rent of 2s. a year

duty involved the warden in such expenses as these *dat' jurat' Midd' pro una fovea non escurat' apud Padyngton*, 6*s.* 8*d.* (1456–7); paid to the same *pro favore habend' pro fossat' de Hyde viz. inter Kensyngton et Knyghtbrigge* 2*s.* (1461–2). In 1464–5, 6*s* 8*d.* was paid to the sheriff of Middlesex *pro suo favore habend' pro diversis amerciamentis apud Hodilstenpittes*, and this, like so many others, became an annual payment.

(4) The next item is that of 'recreations', or hospitality given to important visitors, and also to the prior and the abbot. The recreations to the latter were probably on the occasion of the holding of some court or other manorial function. For an illustration let us take William Thornewerk's detailed account for 1450–1 (see p. 51 n.). In the Easter quarter two geese were bought *pro prand' tent' apud Levermore* (1*s.* 4*d.*); another 'recreation' was given at the same place to Master Thomas Manning, clerk, and others of the king's household (4*s.* 4*d.*). The same quarter 6*s.* 7*d.* was spent *apud Hyde cum domino priore et senesc' tent' vis' franc' pleg' cum curia die martis in sept' pent' apud knyghtbrigge*, that is for Hock day's court and view of frankpledge.[1] Lastly, on the Thursday after St. Matthew's Day (Sept. 21) a recreation was made for the lord abbot which cost 20*s.* 2*d* The total cost of the hospitality was 32*s.* 5*d.*, a heavy charge on a manor which only paid a rent of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* but this year is exceptional.

(5) Lastly, we have the *custus domorum*, a heading which affords us some glimpses of the manor houses of Hyde and Paddington At Hyde there was a moat—*pro escuracione le mote* (1450–1; cf 1472–3), a great barn (1455–6), *le shepcote et le cowhous* (1457–8), various stables, *le millchous*, and *camerae* (1459–60). In 1463–4 three chambers are made, viz. *in aut'* [? *aula*], *locutor' et camera*, for which 10,000 *breek* was required. To continue the story, it is interesting to learn that the manor was let to 'Master John Morton, clerk' (Master of the Rolls, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), on a twenty years' lease for £14 a year in 1476–7.[2] This lease to

[1] The details are—*in pan' et cervis'* 2/4, *in expens' in coquina ibidem, viz. in carn' boum ovium et maribones et carn' vitul'* 1/10, *in iii pull'* 6d; *in iii ronners* 8d; *in i porcell'* 7d, *in speciebus ad idem empt'* 4d = 3/11, *item dat' coco pro labore* 4d; *item in beryes empt' pro le bakemet'* 1d

[2] John Morton became bishop of Ely in 1479, and archbishop in 1486. He seems to have given up the lease in 1483–4, when the manor was let to the Bishop of St. Davids on a lease of thirteen years But in 1486–7 the name of John *nuper episcopo Elensi* reappears In 1488–9 the manor was again let to William Waller for thirty years, in whose hands it remained till the term of his lease.

Morton probably accounts for the large sum spent on Hyde and Paddington in 1478–9, viz. over £70, when we hear in particular of *le shepon horreum stabulum et domos infra le mote* at Hyde, and also of *factur' de le pound apud Knyghtbrugge*.[1] The last entry to quote concerning Hyde is the expenditure of £21 6*s* 1*d* *in nov' edific' apud Hyde* in 1527–8.

To turn to Paddington, it is in connexion with the building of a great barn there that we come across the first mention of bricks in these rolls, viz. in 1455–6, *in* 3,000 *briche cum cariag' pro le pynnyng orrei*. Next year 2,000 *de breck* was used *pro le underpynnyng* of *le cowhous*. In 1477–8 the *cimiterium de Padyngton* is mentioned. Paddington's share of the great outlay of 1478–9 was spent upon the *domum mansionis*, the *horreum*, and *le shepon*; and a dauber was also at work on a *domum super le grene*.

This is rather a long digression from the building of the nave; but it seemed well worth while to give some idea of the position held and the responsibilities incurred by the abbey of Westminster, and by the office of the *Novum Opus* in particular, as landowner of the most important parts of what is now west and south-west London.

(*Harweden and Kyrton*)

To return then to our history, we may divide the years from 1422 to 1467 into three periods:

First, as long as Abbot Harweden was alive, 1422–1440, the wardens Ashby and Kyrton kept the work at a steady level, always being careful that there should be a balance on the right side. The twelve years for which we have accounts give this annual average—sixty-five cartloads of stone bought, three masons at work with occasional help, and an expenditure of £58 4*s*. 8*d*. John Thirsk has lost the £10 fee which he had received under Henry V, and works at the same rate of wages as his fellow masons, with a little more for his robe and recreation. But in 1430–1 he ceases to earn wages as a working mason, and receives a fee of £5 with 13*s*. 4*d*. for his robe; later, in 1445–6, £2 is paid to the sacrist for his house rent. We hear of Thirsk for the last time in the summer of 1451; at Christmas 1452 John Smith becomes master mason; and he in turn is followed by John Redyng in 1460–1, though I strongly suspect that the two latter are one person, viz. John Smith of

[1] Cp *le pynfold ibidem* i. e. *at Knyghtbrigge* (1500–1). A pair of 'stokkes' was also set up there in 1494–5.

Reading. Whether they be one or two persons, these Johns were working masons and received £8 13*s* 4*d*. a year for their wages as such, £5 for their fee, 13*s*. 4*d* for their robes, and £2 for house rent—in all £16 6*s* 8*d* per annum

The first work mentioned in 1423-4 is building a new wall between the church and *le logge* [1]. This confirms what has already been said about the position of the masons' lodge (p. 42). In the next account 8*d*. is paid *pro factura le logge pro le tenysplayers* What connexion can this somewhat inexpensive lodge have with the *Novum Opus*? Did the warden and his companions (*socii*) play tennis? If not, who did?

In 1433-4 four labourers were hired for ten days to 'replace within the enclosure of the lodge the worked stones which had previously lain before the west door'. This proves that the west door was already built. Indeed, the walls must have been at some height. The slight evidence collected below [2] shows that the stones had to be raised, and yet it would seem not to such a great height as the clerestory. Mention is made more than once of the chamber above the west door, which must have been built before 1442. Indeed it is possible that Millyng, on taking up the work in 1468, had 'the great (west) window cleaned'; but the reference, given below on p 62, is more probably to the aisle or clerestory windows. These points incline me to believe that the chief work of the whole period was the raising of the west end and bases of the towers to a level nearer to that attained in the nave proper. It is evident from the building itself that the tower bay is later than the rest · there is a difference in the shafts of the triforium and in the tracery of the clerestory windows; and I doubt whether the stringcourses are quite level with those of the nave proper In

[1] In 1447 a wall was built *apud le logge iuxta le monkyncherchhawe* (i. e. next the monks' churchyard or burying place). but it occurs under *Custus domorum*, it does not specify the *masons'* lodge, and we know that the monks' churchyard was by the Infirmary, for in 1377-8 John Mordon, the infirmarer, built a wall *inter cameram subprioris et cimiterium vocat' le monkenchichaw.*

[2] In 1423-4, *i corda de canabo ad trahend' petr' et slynges inde faciend'* 2*s*. 6*d* , 1424-5 five loads of scaffold timber; 1429-30, 1 new cord *vocat' le gabel rope* [cable] 20*s*.; in 1434-5 and after, labourers are hired to carry the worked stones *a le logge usque in fabricam novi operis* or *usque in ecclesiam*; 1447-8, paid to John Trounsham *pro hevyng de tymbre pro le scaffold fiend' cum uno homine* 16*d* ; *diversis hominibus trahentibus petras super ecclesiam* 6*s* 8*d*., *pro wyndyng petr' super ecclesiam* 3*s*. This is all. Negatively, there is no mention of the great wheel. In 1434-5 and a few years after, among the stones bought are specified *asschlers*, and also Reigate stones *maioris* and *minoris forme.*

1435–6 the Lord Cardinal (Beaufort) and the king's executors at divers times visited the church *pro fabrica novi operis*. The warden had to contribute 40*s*. towards the expense of their entertainment, and I cannot detect any other result of their inspection, except that at the end of the year there is for the first time a deficit in the account.

The first ten years of Abbot Kyrton form the second period, 1440–50 The work then fell to a very low ebb. The average expenditure[1] is just under £34, the purchase of stone is forty loads, and only two masons are employed. The only matter to note in these years is the *camera* over the west door. This, as has been remarked, was already built by 1442, for in the account for 1442–3 we read *In plumbo empt' pro camera in novo opere hoc anno fucato* 10*s*., and in 1445–6 it underwent a restoration[2] The slackness of work at this time, together with the frequent change of wardens, is, as has been hinted, a reflection upon the administrative capacities of Abbot Kyrton.

I have marked off the remaining years, 1450–68, as a third period, because in these years the prosecution of the New Work was greatly hindered by certain misfortunes which fell upon the abbey one after another.

(*The burning of the dormitory*)

1. On the 25th of October, 1447, 'on the feast of Saints Crispin and Crispinian, about nine o'clock at night, the dormitory was set on fire by George Norwych (*factum est incendium dormitorii per G. N.*)'—so runs a laconic memorandum in an account-book of the priors It was less than 150 years since the previous destruction of the dormitory by fire (p. 36). The rebuilding was now put into the hands of John Flete, the treasurer. He first raised a sum of money—£158 10*s*., and then carried out the work in the year 1449–50, the total expense being £184 19*s*. 8*d*. His interesting account roll is

[1] To judge from a few rolls. There is a gap from Mich 1437 to Mich. 1442.

[2] *In emendacione unius camerae super hostium occidentale novi operis ecclesie solut' J. Pache cooopent'* [? *carpent'* or *cooperient'*] for seven days, 4*s*.; *et pro in bemes et tabulis quercinis ad idem empt'*, 5*s*. 4*d*.; *et plumbario cum suo serviente*, for eight days, 8*s* 8*d*.; *et pro clav' ad idem*, 6*d*.; and *xiii lb. sowder*, 4*s*. 4*d*.—in all £1 2*s*. 10*d*. John Pache was succeeded by Richard Pache as abbey carpenter They must have made their mark, for at the dissolution of the monastery a house in Little Dean's Yard, near the dormitory, was still called *Pache's house*.

extant, but to go into details[1] would carry us too far from our subject, except for one point, which affords a striking illustration of the system of 'regards' and 'recreations' which prevailed throughout the middle ages. A document is exhibited in the chapter-house of Westminster, in which Henry VI states that in view of this calamity he remits to the convent half a tenth which had been voted by convocation and was due to him on June 24, 1448. The half-tenth came to £69, which is accordingly entered by Flete among his receipts. But among the payments is a paragraph headed *In expens' fact' circa adquisitionem dimidie decime supradict'*, and a number of items follow from which I will only quote two or three: *imprimis dat' Johanni Say armigero* £6 13*s.* 4*d.* . . . *in ii signis [cygnis] miss' domino cancellario apud Lambythe* 8*s.* . . . *dat' Johī Rous pro suo labore erga dominum cancellarium* 13*s* 4*d*, *et dat' domino Thes' ad concordand' cum ipso in pretio unius dolei vini* £6, *dat' W. Dyke armigero pro suo labore erga dominum Thes'* 20*s.* and so forth. The total, including travelling expenses to Windsor and Canterbury, comes to £21 5*s.* 8*d.*; so to obtain a remission of £69 cost the abbey £21. This is the highwater mark of commissions,—whether licit or illicit is not for us to judge. And I must add that, although the gifts of kings and other great persons generally suffer a discount by way of 'regard' or 'recreation' to their treasurers and servants, I have not come across another instance on a scale equal to this.

(*The vicars of Longdon*)

2. For 120 years the *Novum Opus* of Westminster had received £26 13*s.* 4*d.* a year from the rectorial tithes of Longdon (p. 36), from which had been deducted only the payment of tenths, 10*s.* for a robe for the vicar, and occasionally a robe for the farmer of the tithe. But in the fourteenth century the cost of living had probably increased; at any rate the vicars of Longdon began to find that their share of the church's tithes was too small. The convent refusing to increase their stipend, an action against it was instituted in 1455-6 by the then vicar of Longdon in the court of the bishop of Worcester.[2] Full details of the expenses incurred are entered in the *N. O.* rolls, together with the names of the advocates, proctors, and others concerned. There is not

[1] The account mentions *le parclos super gradus dormitorii* and the *gabelwyndowe in fine dormitorii.*

[2] *In consistorio Wygorn', in curia Christianitatis in ecclesia cathedr' Wigorn'.*

room to reproduce them here. Suffice it to say that in the two years 1455–7 the convent spent £13 16*s.* 4*d.* in expenses in the consistory court of Worcester, and, having received an adverse verdict there, carried the case in 1458 to the provincial or archbishop's court, the Court of Arches (*curia de arcubus*), where the chief advocate of the convent was Master Thomas Wynterbourn, afterwards dean of St. Paul's (1471–8). That year the expenses came to £14 10*s.* 2*d.*, and having again failed, the convent appealed to Rome, for at the end appears this item, *solut' pro 2 procuracione usque curiam Romanam* 48*s.* 4*d.*, and among 'foreign payments' we read *solut' ii fratribus predicatorum venient' a curia Romana et portant' cum eis unam inhibicionem et unam citacionem pro materia de Longedon* 3*s* 4*d.* Unfortunately, the account for the following year is lost. But the expenses in the papal court could hardly have been less than those in the Court of Arches, and the convent failed to win its appeal For next year the warden pays the vicar a pension of 53*s* 4*d* (i. e. 4 marks, a tenth of £26 13*s.* 4*d.*= 40 marks), which is continued annually until 1487–8, when for some reason unknown to us it was reduced to 13*s.* 4*d.* But there was more than this, the convent was henceforth compelled by the authorities at Worcester to fulfil its responsibilities as rector for the church buildings in the parish of Longdon, which it had hitherto entirely neglected. Thus in 1459–60 the warden had to spend £4 1*s.* 6*d.* on the chancels of Longdon church and the chapel of Chaddesley; and in 1461–2 £11 0*s.* 10*d.* (plus £2 17*s.* 5½*d.* in expenses) on the same with the 'presbyter's house' at Chaddesley. Attached to the roll for 1466–7 is the *Parcelle* of the repair of the chancel of Morton Castell, £23 7*s.*, and its windows were glazed in 1467 at a cost of £2 13*s.* 4*d.* Next year the bishop's court at Worcester fined the convent £1 for defects in the repairs. Yet again, in 1467–9 the chancel of Longdon cost another £7 6*s.* 10*d.* Thus, after spending £28 10*s.* in resisting the claim of the vicar of Longdon—not to speak of expenses at Rome—the *Novum Opus* had to spend in the next ten years (1459–69) £52 7*s.* on repairs of the fabrics,[1] besides paying every year a pension of 53*s.* 4*d.* to the vicar, and a fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* to a proctor in the consistory court of Worcester, which fee became a permanent charge like the pension.

Before leaving Longdon there is another unhappy circumstance to mention. In the second year of Edward IV Convocation granted him a fourth of a tenth. For Longdon this came to 14*s.* 6*d.*, which is duly entered among the payments of 1461–2. But there had been

[1] Later, in 1477–8, £22 10*s.* 3*d.* was spent on the chancel of Longdon.

some difficulty or delay in the matter · and the new government was rigorous upon defaulters—perhaps it was anxious to make the convent of Westminster feel its strong hand. However that may be, the warden incurred a bill of £7 3s *circa excusationem collectionis decime predict'*, with further costs of £2 19s. 2d. *in scaccario dñi Regis* The expenses of William Yonge and Edward Breknok in collecting the tenth came to £10 6s 0½d with rewards of £3 6s 8d, and two recreations had to be given to the *capital' baron' de scaccario dñi Regis* (£1 10s. 6½d). In all, the default about this 14s. 6d cost the *Novum Opus* £25 5s. 5d.[1]

(*The restoration of the south transept*)

3. The third piece of adverse fortune with which the *Novum Opus* had to contend was the dilapidation of the south transept, for the repair of which it was laid under contribution, the warden at the time being also sacrist. The first hint of this occurs in William Thornewerk's account for 1451: *solut' Johanni Hardy in festo assumptionis beate Marie pro Northirnstone pro le Rose in australi parte ecclesie in partem solutionis* £5. £5 was also paid *citra* (? *circa*) *festum sancti Petri ad vincula* (Aug. 1); and possibly we may connect with this the purchase of 88 *tonnetight de Canestone* (£36 13s. 4d.) in 1455-6. The next mention of the Rose is in 1457, when between March and September four carpenters are working *super le scaffold' pro rosa ad finem australem ecclesie.* In 1460-1 five carpenters are engaged in raising the great scaffold (*erigent' magnum scaffold'*), for which the timber had been cut down at Knightsbridge. In particular three carpenters were at work cutting down and framing (*framant'*) timber *pro ancora rose in ecclesia et pro le nailing tabul' magni scaffold'*, and six labourers raised the timber *de le anker.* In all, the scaffold cost £11 5s. 8d. The restoration of the window was completed next year (1461-2). A carpenter spent 160 days in 'setting up five scaffolds within and without the church about the rose and in taking down the same',[2] and also making a 'great wheel'

[1] In 1479-80 John Yong received £4 13s. 4d for collecting half a tenth in the archdeaconry of Worcester, and £2 6s. 8d. was paid *in expens' fact' in scaccario dñi regis circa exonerationem dicti collectoris.* Next year the same items (£5 and £2 3s. 4d. respectively) recur over the remaining half of the tenth The first of the chief barons of the Exchequer in 1461-2 is William Essex. In 1451-2 Robert Essex, of whom more hereafter, became a monk here.

[2] *pro le scaplyng predict' lod' ulmin' et framyng de 5 scaffoldes infra ecclesiam et extra circa le rose cum depositione eorundem cum factur' unius magn' rote super le scaffold'.* The first mention of ginnies (*chynnys*) occurs this year.

for which a rope (*rabull*) was bought from John Boleyn for 34*s.* 9*d.* Eighty ells of canvas were needed to protect the church from 'wind, rain, and other misfortune'. Labourers carried away the old rose,[1] and the labour bill was heavy, £11 15*s.* 8*d.* Seven extra masons were employed for several weeks. The new rose in its place, the iron-work could be fixed. 1,240 lb. of new iron and 1,027 lb. of old were used, together with 8 lb. *de canill' ferr'*. The iron-work cost £19 15*s.* 4*d.* Last came the glazing, which required 1,800 lb. of lead (72*s.*), 36 lb. of solder (12*s.*), and 2 *lod' vitri pro nova rosa* (£2 10*s.*). Then follows this important entry 'Paid to Thomas Pedeler, glasyer, for the glazing of the said rose, viz for 465 feet at 1½*d* a foot—£2 18*s.* 1½*d.*, and to the same for making of the arms of England, with colours for the same in the centre of the rose, 4*s.*'[2] This would lead us to infer that only the middle of the rose was coloured.

It is interesting thus to be able to add another chapter to the history of the great Rose. Built about 1260, its glass was blown out by the great wind of 1362, and renewed by John Payable. A hundred years later the window was rebuilt, and glazed by Thomas Pedeler. Wren tells us in his report to Atterbury in 1713 (Widmore, p 55) that the south rose window 'was well rebuilt forty years since'. It underwent the same process at the hands of Wyatt in 1814. In 1842–5 Messrs. Ward and Nixon filled it with stained glass, which was a striking achievement for the time. Lastly, at the beginning of the twentieth century, 1901–2, both stone and glass were once more renewed at a cost of £2,125 for the stone-work and £1,960 for the glass (including the lancets below). The total cost of the restoration in 1461–2 was about £126; £181 13*s.* was altogether spent by the *Novum Opus* that year, and the warden was left with a deficit of £84 5*s.* 6½*d.*

In the following years occur some notices of work on the south end[3]; and it appears that the sacrist had also been obliged to re-lead the roof of the transept.[4] In doing this John Amondesham[5]

[1] *in diversis labor ar' conduct' ad subtrahend' vet' rosam et ad cariand' petr' ab ecclesia usque ad corpus eiusdem ecclesie ac eciam operant' ibidem toto tempore factur' nove rose*

[2] *solut' Thom' Pedeler glasyer pro vitriacione dict' rose viz pro 465 ped'* . . . *et pro factur' armarum* [sic] *Angl' cum coloribus ad idem in medio rose.*

[3] In 1463–4, 6 cwt. *calc' adust' pro turr' super australem partem ecclesie* and for other places; 1464–5, 5 cwt. of do. for the same, 1466–7, 4 cwt. *calc' adust' pro turr' super australem partem ecclesie finiend' ex parte orientali et pro le gable end.*

[4] *pro tectura australis partis ecclesie et super latus ibidem usque partem occidentalem post'*, i. e. its west aisle (1464–5).

[5] Or Ametsham, sacrist from 1450 to 1460 or 1462.

had incurred a debt of £57 13*s.* 4*d.* to the plumber, John Rogerson of London, and his successor, Thomas Ruston, increased the debt to £89 10*s.* 1½*d.* To assist in liquidating this, for four years (1463–7) the *Novum Opus* paid £6 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.

(*Norwych and Ruston*)

The restoration of the south transept fell under the wardenship of Thomas Ruston, who had entered upon the office at Michaelmas 1461, and under the abbacy of George Norwych, who had succeeded Kyrton on his resignation in October 1462. The rule, perhaps the combined rule, of these two was suddenly brought to a close. On Nov. 24, 1467, 'in a low parlour on the south side of the Infirmary,'[1] in the presence of a public notary and two witnesses, and also of the prior (Dr. Thomas Millyng) and eleven of the senior monks, George Norwych signed a document which committed the government of the monastery to a commission of three, Millyng the prior, William Chertsey, and John Esteney. He also agreed that Dompnus Thomas Ruston should be deposed from all his offices, viz. those of cellarer, sacrist, and warden of the new work. The ground alleged for this sudden change was that the abbot had by his mismanagement burdened the convent with debt, and that this again was largely due to the influence of Ruston. With regard to these charges we must observe that the convent had suffered from debt for many years before Norwych became abbot and that although Thomas Ruston, as far as we can judge from the rolls, was a bad manager—'regards' and such like payments tended to increase, and he had previously got into debt when chamberlain[2], yet very heavy and exceptional expenses fell upon him—the restoration of the south transept, the repairs of the churches at Longdon, and the unfortunate incident about the tithe of Longdon. We might therefore say that it was his misfortune rather than his fault. It is probable that more underlay the *coup d'état*, if such we may call it, than appears on the surface. Perhaps the change represented a political victory. Norwych and Ruston may have stood for the Lancastrian interest, as Millyng afterwards proved to be a staunch Yorkist.[3]

[1] *in quadam bassa parlura ex parte australi infirmariae.* Widmore prints the original notarial document (p. 191).

[2] In 1464–5 the *N. O.* contributes £5 9*s.* towards liquidating a debt of Ruston's of £18 6*s.* 3¾*d.* due to John Routh, 'haberdassher' of London.

[3] We noted the severity of the government in the matter of the Longdon tithe, 1461–2. On the other hand Norwych only became abbot after Edward IV's accession. Ruston was provided for by being made prior of Hurley.

(*Millyng*)

Whatever was the real meaning of the *coup d'état*, it was fully justified by its results. Thomas Millyng, who became abbot two years later on the death of Norwych, was a great man. He was a preacher, and also learned. A doctor of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, he was incorporated at Cambridge in 1471, and is said to have known Greek. He was certainly a capable ruler; and he was determined that the reproach of Westminster—the ruinous state of its nave—should be wiped away. The period of hesitation and dilatoriness is over. At Christmas 1467 he is appointed warden of the New Work, and at once we enter upon an era of activity.

In the roll for 1468 we find masons employed at an average of ten or eleven a week But the chief feature of the account is the building of a great scaffold. Richard Pache and others receive £17 11*s*. 0*d*. for work *circa scafold' et gynnes et tect' novi operis et circa mer[emium]*, &c.[1] Timber is cut down and brought from Hendon, Kensington, and Endyth; the sawyers saw 13,947 feet of elm and oak planks and 'quarters'; the necessary implements are bought, e.g. ropes and *cordes de baste*, ladders, two new *pavones*, and two 'great veils' (*magna vela*) to protect the masons from wind and rain.[2] Two other items are of interest. A payment is made *pro clausura in ecclesia ad finem chori*; and eight labourers are employed *circa magnum scaffold fiend' et circa mundac' magn' fenestr' in navi ecclesie*. At first sight it is tempting to identify the 'great window in the nave' with the great west window; but the abbreviation may equally well stand for the plural, and the windows referred to are probably those of the aisle or clerestory, which were also 'great' (see p. 70 n.).

We notice that Richard Pache was paid for work on the *tectum novi operis*; i.e. the roof as well as the scaffold. Next year this statement is explained, for then one of the bays was roofed. In the account for this year, 1468–9, three carpenters are paid £12 for work on the scaffolds, &c., and *circa le framyng et erectionem tecti ecclesie in novo opere*. This in itself is vague. But most fortunately there is still extant (*Munim*. 6228) a 'bill endented', made the 2nd day of September [1469] between 'Thomas Millyng mayster of the new werkys of the monastory of Saynt Peter of Westm'' and 'John Rogerson plummer of London', which witnesses 'that the forsayd

[1] In all £36 3*s*. 3½*d*. is spent on the scaffolding and carpenters' work; £14 8*s*. on *ferramenta*.

[2] Cf 1472–3, *in 31 ulnis lin' de canvas pro defensione ardoris solis et pro imbribus pluvie* 10*s*. 4*d*.

Thomas oweth unto the forsayd John for werkemanshepe for newe lede and old lede sowder with other thynges perteynyng unto a new severie [i. e. bay] upon the new werke of the sayd monastory', £37 16*s.* 0*d.* Here is clear evidence that Millyng roofed one bay, and the question arises: which bay? We must note that Millyng was not prepared to go forward with the roofing for the present he had no store of timber; and in fact nothing further was done on the roof till 1474. What single bay was he likely to roof by itself? Looking at the diagram we see that one bay stands in a unique position—no. 5. It should properly belong to the old work; and it is the natural starting-place for continuing the roof Millyng was working at the end of the choir the year before, making a new *clausura*; and we may conclude that this was the bay which he roofed. Before doing this he must have finished the clerestory walls of that bay, which explains the heavy masons' work in the previous year. Now the windows in these walls are also unique. We have assumed that the clerestory walls were well advanced in Henry V's time, at any rate the pattern of the windows must have been fixed then: and now John Redyng devises a transitional window to join the old and the new work, the lights agreeing with the old, the quatrefoil with the new.[1]

We must take note of another piece of work this year First, ironwork is made for two new windows £16, and four 'lodes of timber' are used for a scaffold.[2] Then two glaziers are paid £6 2*s* 8*d.* for working ninety-two days at the glazing of two windows *de navi ecclesie*, and coloured glass is bought for them.[3] At first sight it seems natural to suppose that these are the two clerestory windows of the newly roofed bay. But we shall meet with the account for the glazing of fifteen clerestory windows at a later date. therefore, as the price of the ironwork points to large windows, they must be two windows of the aisle. When we ask—which two? we must confess that there is a lacuna in our knowledge. Nowhere have I come across any account for the glazing

[1] In assigning Millyng's work to this bay I venture to differ from Mr. Micklethwaite's expressed opinion, and for a vindication of my presumption I must refer to Appendix II (p. 84)

[2] *Et in 4 lod' merem' pro scaffold' nil hic quia de merem' relict' ad baptizationem filie domini regis*

[3] *Et in vitro colorato empt' hoc anno* £3 19*s.*, *et in di' wawe vitri de Rene* 18*s* 4*d.* *Et in 6 seme et di' vitri anglicani* .. £5 4*s* *Et sol' 2 vitreariis per 92 dies operant' circa vitriacionem 2 fenestr' de navi ecclesie* . . . £6 2*s.* 8*d* *Et in uno plate de auricalco ad moland' colores pro vitrear'* 12*s* 7*d* *Et pro factur' le anelyng herth pro brike et al' necessariis de stauro.* *Et in papiro empt'* [. .] *vitrear'* 8*d*

of the aisle windows further search must be made. Meanwhile if we may connect them with the new *clausura* at the end of the choir—though what this was does not appear—they would be the windows of the fifth and newly roofed bay.[1]

(*Millyng's finance*)

After these efforts, the work was reduced in the next year, 1469–70. There is no scaffolding, the number of masons is decreased, ironwork is made for two new windows, £12 6*s.* 0*d*, and Thomas the glazier works forty-six days. The bill of expenses is consequently less—only £86 4*s* 3*d*. But in 1468 the total expenditure had been £244 9*s* 4*d*. (of which about £181 was spent on the work itself), leaving a deficit of £163 17*s* 10*d*.; and the following year £202 15*s*. 11*d*. was spent (about £168 on the *N. O.*), still leaving a deficit of £133. It is surprising that after rusticating his abbot for running into debt, Millyng himself should within a year incur a deficit of over £163. This confirms our idea that more underlay the deposition than meets the eye. But our interest is to inquire how the deficit was met, and we shall find Millyng originating new methods of raising money.

First, he put up in the church a box for voluntary offerings—'the new pyx', as it was called. This expedient, though an obvious one, was not very lucrative. In the first year (1468–9) it produced £1 13*s* 3½*d*., but next year *nil*. Then it began again with 5*s* 9*d*., and after some fluctuations, gradually declined until it reached 7*d*. in 1486–7, and *nil* in 1487–8.[2] In the second place, he induced his brethren to contribute. On reading the account rolls of the convent, we discover that from one source and another a monk of Westminster received a fair amount of *peculium*, or pocket-money, during the year. This somewhat takes the edge off our surprise when from time to time we come across a monk in command of a considerable sum of money. The monks now agreed to contribute a mark a year each to the New Work. They also denied themselves one of their summer treats, viz. the sum of £5 which the monk baily had paid for a recreation or harvest outing at Battersea.[3] This contribution, the total of which came to about £33–£36 a year,

[1] In 1472–3 repairs were done *super cameram sacriste in occidentali parte ecclesie*. had they any connexion with the *clausura*?

[2] The pyx produced in all £7 14*s* 4*d* *plus* £8 17*s*. 1*d* *cum litteris indulgentie dñi pape* in 1497–8. See App. IV, p. 91

[3] 1477–8, *et de 5 libris rec' de Balliuo nuper assignatis pro recreationibus fratrum tempore autumnali tent' apud Batrichesey.*

lasted on to the end with one change, when in 1523-4 the levy was reduced from *13s. 4d* to *3s. 4d.*[1] Thirdly, he collected gifts from secular persons, which varied in amount, but are considerably less than the contributions of the brethren.[2]

These 'oblations' then required supplementing. It is probable that Millyng had hopes of royal help but, whether it were so or no, he was favoured by a sudden turn of fortune. The rebellion of Warwick, and the flight of Edward IV from London and the throne in September 1470, brought prosperity to Westminster. For Edward's queen, Elizabeth Wydvile, fled to the abbey to take sanctuary, and remained there six months. Millyng, who was now abbot, received her hospitably and stood godfather to the young prince Edward who was born in the precincts. His elder sister had been baptized in the church in 1469 (p. 63, n. [2]). The return of Edward in March 1471 was speedily followed by his complete victory at Tewkesbury, and the opportunity was now come for royal gratitude. Queen Elizabeth founded the chantry and chapel of St. Erasmus. Edward IV promised £100 a year to the New Work. The queen also added a 'collation' to the same, and the young Prince of Wales, as soon as he was four years old, was made to give 20 marks a year. But royal promises are not always realized, and a frequent entry is *De dono domini regis c librarum—nil hoc anno.* The prince alone paid his 20 marks regularly until he was twelve years old (1481-2). Perhaps the annual entry, on the other side of the account, of a recreation to certain members of the prince's council (*de consilio principis*), with an annual regard to his treasurer, may help to account for this.[3] But though the king only gave in three years, the amount of his contribution £239 *3s. 0d* exceeded that of either the queen (£173 *13s. 4d*) or the prince (£106 *13s. 4d*). In all, the royal gifts came to £519 *9s. 8d.*

George Norwych had died in 1469, and naturally Thomas Millyng became abbot in his place. This necessitated an expensive journey to Rome for confirmation by the Pope, which will explain the slackening of the work in 1469-70. He also ceased to be warden, and Thomas Crosse was appointed for 1470-1. The chief event to

[1] Millyng himself, when he left office at Mich. 1470, had a deficit of £83 *15s 5d. de quo excessu remisit* £53 *15s 5d*

[2] Legacies form a large part of these. The total amount contributed from 1468 till 1490, after which these offerings cease, (including a legacy of £69 in 1486-7) was £264 *2s 4d*

[3] Cf 1473-4, *in regard' dat' uxori, filiis et filiabus dicti Johannis* [*Crayford*] *3s. 4d* ; *dicto Johanni* *10s.* John Crayford was the deputy of Sir Roger Ree, the queen's receiver

be noted this year is the appearance of Robert Stowell as master mason in the place of John Redyng[1] Stowell, who ceased to work for wages as a mason in 1475–6, held the office for thirty-four years. In 1470–1 we find him leasing tenements in Tothill Street from the *Novum Opus*, but later he leases two tenements in the Sanctuary on the west side *introitus de le Brodegatis*, and in the convent register (f. 22) he is called 'Robert Stowell gentilman'. In 1489–90 he gave £3 6*s*. 8*d*. to the *Novum Opus* on condition of himself and his wife being admitted into fraternity with the convent. Two carpenters are paid for 'covering the walls of the new work' (5*s*. 4*d*.), and two tilers are occupied in the same business. Lead is also used for this purpose *super muros novi operis*. This covering of the walls (*coopertura murorum*) with tiling and lead becomes almost an annual charge. Lastly, Thomas the glazier 'shuts up (*claudent*) the south window with reeds (*arundine*) to exclude the pigeons'. By 'the south window' we should naturally understand the south window of the south transept; but perhaps this indicates the first step in the process of blocking up all the windows of the nave.[2]

(*Esteney*)

John Esteney, one of the three commissioners of 1467, succeeded Crosse at Michaelmas 1471; and when, three years later, Millyng was made bishop of Hereford—a promotion for which we are not unprepared—Esteney became abbot. The same year (1473–4) the queen honoured the New Work with a visit, which was rather a burdensome honour, as the recreation to her majesty with her lords and ladies cost the office £4 11*s*. 8*d*., and 13*s*. 4*d*. was distributed among her officers.

The twenty-six years of Esteney's wardenship were to be years of eventful progress. Millyng had made a start, and laid down the lines for financing the work; Esteney was to carry out what he had begun. In one respect Esteney made an innovation. When he became abbot he retained the wardenship of the new work, and the succeeding abbots followed his example. This is significant of a change that was coming over monastic life. In earlier days the convent had maintained a vigorous life, independent of, and often in opposition to, its abbot; and its affairs had been administered by its own officers. That life was now decaying; and the abbot began to accumulate the more important offices in

[1] Stowell had worked for 30 weeks in 1468–9. Redyng gave £5 to the work on retiring: *de dono Johannis Redyng nuper magistri cement'* £5.

[2] Cf. in 1472–3, *et in clausur' fenestr' ex parte australi ad finem occidentalem ecclesie*; and see pp. 69 and 70, note [1].

his own person. It had indeed been customary to combine offices, and of this we have had several illustrations. But Esteney was the first abbot to hold an office in the monastery; and he was sacrist, cellarer, and warden of the new work at once. The work, of course, was done by delegates, but the abbot retained its direction with the control of the money.

Tradition, fortified by Widmore's authority, has always credited Esteney with the making of the great west window In one sense the credit was too much, for some part of the window at least was in position before 1468 (p 55); and it was Islip, in the next century, who glazed it. On the other hand, the tradition falls far short of the reality. A truer estimate of Esteney's work is given in a short account of him written by John Felix, who was a monk at Westminster from 1525 to 1537 'Fourthly,' he says, 'in his care for the house of Israel, he provided that the building of this minster should go forward, so that both the vaultings of the new work, that is, both the higher and the lower vaulting, together with the great window over the west door, were fully completed while he was yet alive.'[1]

The rolls at this period become very lengthy and full of detail. They give the names of all the masons and carpenters employed, and, later, of the labourers. The greatest amount of detail is concerned with the timber and the carpenters' work, the raising of scaffolding, &c. Trees—elms and oaks—were cut down at Hyde, Knightsbridge, Estgrove, and Hendon; and later at Highwood Hill (after 1477), le Frith, and Downage or Downhegge, (after 1489)[2]; thence they were carted to the sawpits or the 'timberhawe' at Westminster. Where the timberhawe was we cannot say; but it must have been in the vicinity of Dean's Yard;

[1] In a MS. in the British Museum, Claud A viii, f. 64[b]: Quarto curam habens de domo Israel proinde ut [*lege* providit ut] fabrica istius monasterii procederet: ita ut utraque volta novi operis, videlicet tam superior quam inferior, una cum magna fenestra supra hostium hoccidentale ipso adhuc superstite ad plenum firmarentur' We shall find reasons, however, for modifying this statement about the *completion* of the vaulting

Compare the verses printed by Widmore (p. 204).—

Impensisque suis processit fabrica templi,
Cui magis idoneos qualibet arte viros
Providit, bifariaque venustat imagine templum;
Una Petri gestat altera Pauli effigiem.

[2] As these places became exhausted, Pyrford (in 1524-5) and Laleham (in 1531-2) were laid under contribution. After 1491 lathes, &c., are brought almost annually from Kingston, as they had been over a century before.

for twice, in 1472–3 and 1476–7, some timber is said to have been brought 'to the elms' (*usque ulmos*) which was then a name for the northern part of Dean's Yard.[1] A layman feels very much at sea amidst the wealth of technical terms—*assers* and *tables* (i e planks), *planchebord*, *elmenbord*, *oakenbord*; *slittyngwerk* and *quarters*, *somers* and *bemys*; *giestes* and *rafters*, *braces*, *wynbemes* or *wyndow bemes*, and *crosse andrewes*. But it serves to make him realize the difficulty, the expense, and the labour of raising scaffolds for such a work as the vaulting and roofing of the nave, at 100 feet and 132 feet from the ground In 1472–3, while preparations are being made for the roofing, we find that there are three scaffolds—the lower, higher, and highest (*inferior*, *superior*, and *supremus*); elsewhere we read of the great scaffold and the small scaffolds (*magnum* and *parva*). The great wheel and the ginnies, with their pulleys of brass or iron, which hauled up the stones and timber, are of corresponding importance and require a good deal of tackling and constant repair.[2] With all this wealth of detail we often long for some precise statement as to where and what the work actually was, but there are sufficient indications to enable us, with more or less certainty, to follow its course, which we will proceed to do.

(*The roofing*)

In 1472–3 Estency set to work to collect timber for the roof. As a result of his exertions he obtained gifts of 132 oaks. The prior of Christ Church in London gave 8 oaks at Westerham; the monastery of St. Albans gave 24 oaks in Boreham Wood, the Lord Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) gave 40 oaks at 'Tolson Darcy'[3] in Essex. The King gave 40 oaks in *le kyngeswode* at 'Ledys' (Leeds) in Kent. Sir Thomas Bowcer gave 20 more from the same wood; and the convent bought another 103, making in all 235 oaks.[4] The whole expense in the obtaining, cutting down, and shaping, and in the transport to Westminster, of this wood came to £78 10*s* 11½*d*., which is

[1] *le Cheynygates* is mentioned in 1496–7

[2] In 1472–3, *3 poleys ferr'* for *le gynne aquatic'* 3*s*. 8*d* ; in 1483–4, *2 poleas eneas* 3*s* 10*d* , in 1487–8, *lez gynnes et poleys* . *et le takelyng de le gynne apud molendinum* Cp. 1480–1, *circa factur' gynnor' pendencium et non pendencium.*

[3] i.e. Tolleshunt D'Arcy *Bowcer* on the next line probably is the same as Bousser, i. e. Bourchier. Is the *Canewode* below (p. 69) the same as Caen Wood, Highgate?

[4] Wren in his report says that chestnut was used in the roof (Widmore, p. 49), but there is no mention of chestnuts in the account rolls.

entered under the heading *Custus meremii pro novo opere et asserac' sarrat'*. With this store the roofing could be taken in hand, and next year this heading occurs in the account, *Custus circa tecturam iii severyns novi operis* £242 1*s.* 9½*d.*—in all £376 12*s.* 8*d.* was spent that year on the *Novum Opus.* Nine carpenters were at work for various lengths of time between May 8 and Oct. 30, 1474, with a wages bill (including four labourers) of £36 9*s.* 2*d.* The greatest expense was caused by the lead. 31 fodders of lead were bought for *le stepe roof novi operis* from the priory of Christ Church, London—otherwise Holy Trinity, Aldgate—for £139 10*s.*; and with the cost of casting over 34 fodders and other items the lead bill came to £187 15*s.* 5*d.* We have now accounted for the roofing of bays 6, 7, and 8. The following years the scaffolding moves along, so to speak. The *custus circa scaffold'* is about £16 in 1474-5, £18 in 1475-6, £37 in 1476-7.[1] In 1475-6 'three windows on the north side of the new work' are boarded up—perhaps in the clerestory of bays 9 to 11. By 1476-7 the scaffolding seems to have reached the west end, for that year the carpenters' work is *circa tria scaffoldia et situac' gynnorum in campanilibus et magnum scaffoldum ac parva scaffoldia* (£4 8*s.*), and a lock is bought for a door *in fine partis occidentalis in summitate novi operis.* Further material is collected. That same year the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, gave sixty rafters at Orpington in Kent, and in 1477-8 the prior of Christ Church, London, gave six trees at Canewode. After all this work we find that in this year, 1477-8, the next stage in the roofing is completed. The heading is *Expens' circa tecturam ecclesie* £189 11*s.* 11*d.*; and the carpenters' work is thus specified *circa le centyrs scaffoldes pro archebuttandis le whele emendaciones gynnorum et factura unius novi gynne et circa meremium in le ffframyng pro tectura ecclesie et pro fenestris.* That the roofing is finished is shown by the advance of the carpenters who now begin to work on the centres and scaffolds for the flying buttresses. The bill for lead confirms this. No details are given, only this item *solut' Will'mo Egerden*[2] *plumbar' pro tectura navis ecclesie* £136 4*s.* 10*d* Unfor-

[1] These items include cutting down of the timber, carriage to Westminster, sawing, nails, &c., everything that would come under the carpenters' hands. This applies to the 'carpenters' bills' given below. I may also say now, once for all, that the various totals given are generally only approximate (that is except the whole *summa* for a year), because in the accounts the items are not always carefully differentiated under the several heads, and it is probable that some of the materials, &c., may have gone to the repair of houses.

[2] He has succeeded John Rogerson

tunately it is not stated how far the roof went. From what follows it would appear to have been completed, and yet until the west wall and gable were finished it could hardly have reached the actual west end. So I conjecture that the roof covered the next three bays, 9, 10, and 11, thus finishing the nave proper.[1] It ended in a gable of its own,[2] and left the space between the towers to be finished off later.

We must not forget that the masons have been working hard all this time, finishing, I suppose, the walls of the clerestory in preparation for the roofing. The staff was about six, with occasional extra help; and in the years from 1471 to 1479 an average of 200 loads of stone was bought every year. In the same period we find from time to time mention of ironwork—for the windows of the clerestory, I suppose.[3] The next year after the roofing, 1478–9, the work slackened[4]; and the year after that, 1479–80, three master masons—or, as we should say now, three distinguished architects—were invited to inspect the church and give their advice[5] This consultation serves to mark off the first period of Esteney's work, after which the stonework will resume its prominence. It also gives us a pause, and an opportunity to inquire into the finances.

These great works could not be carried out without a corresponding expenditure, and in the first eight years Esteney spent on the actual work[6] £1,740 18*s.* 10*d.*, at an average rate of £217 12*s.* 4*d.* a year. Millyng and Crosse in their four years had spent £570 18*s.* 8*d.*, or £142 14*s.* 8*d.* a year. In 1476–7 we come across a new source of income, viz. indulgences, though its exact form I am not able to explain: *de oblac' ad stationes dat'*

[1] In 1477–8 'six great windows in the nave of the church' were boarded up,—or possibly twelve: see app. note, p. 94.

[2] 1482–3, *in reparacione et ligacione le gable ende de alta tectura novi operis*

[3] Neglecting smaller bills, for implements, &c., the amounts are:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*	
1471–2	4	13	4	*pro fenestris et al'*
1472–3	4	7	6	*pro fenestris et al'*
1474–5	10	4	3	*pro fenestris et rota et diversis machinamentis*
1475–6	10	3	0	*pro fenestris et magnis barris imponend' et combinand' lapides*
1476–7	10	4	8½	*pro ferramentis*

[4] This year there were heavy expenses at Paddington and Hyde, £72 9*s* 11*d*

[5] *In regard' dat' cum una recreacione fact' 3 magistris lathamorum ad superintend' antiquam ecclesiam et novam et pro eorum consilio propter reparacionem anni sequentis* 5*s.* (not a very handsome fee!). With regard to the *antiqua ecclesia*, labourers were at work *cum latamis super le gable ende supra rosam in parte australi ecclesie et super le archbuttand' cum le archis cum carpentariis ibidem et in le Estende supra Feretrum sancti Edwardi.*

[6] i.e., as distinct from the total expenses of the office.

ad dict' opus in tempore Indulgenc' per abbatem de Abendon £60. This, however, was but an occasional help; only in two other years is this source of profit mentioned.[1] Accordingly, the other offices of the abbey were laid under contribution. Thus in 1477–8 the warden of St. Mary's chapel, the extrinsic treasurer, and the almoner paid £38 19*s.* 11*d.*; next year the bailiff, the warden of the chapel, and the intrinsic treasurer paid £39 16*s.* 3*d.*, and so forth. But in spite of these aids Esteney had to borrow £80 in 1477–8,[2] and at Michaelmas, 1479, his deficit stood at £271 0*s.* 10*d.*, which was raised the next year to £289 17*s.* 2¼*d.*

(*The vaulting*)

The inspection of the church by the master masons or distinguished architects was invited no doubt chiefly for the sake of their advice about the stone vaulting. In order to support this it was necessary first to build the flying buttresses. We have seen that as early as 1477–8 the carpenters were engaged in making centres and scaffolds *pro archebuttandis.* This is our first mention of the *archebuttands,* or *archebottants,* as they were called, and as late as 1713 Wren still speaks of the 'archbuttresses' (*ap.* Widmore, pp. 50, 51). The full phrase is *le archebottantes et arches ac pynacles* (1479–80); and according to Mr. Bond[3] the archbuttant is the straight bar which the arch supports. In 1478–9 six iron pins were bought as cramps for the archbuttants,[4] and no doubt the large order of 425 loads of Reigate stone that year was to supply material for them. The work on the archbuttants continues until 1482–3. In this year we must note by the way that the carpenters were repairing a house on the west side of the cloister[5]; for which was bought forty-four feet of oak timber for wallplates and joists, with 400 planks (*planchebord'*). This note shows that the part of the Deanery which rests upon the west cloister, and by tradition dates back to Tudor times, is really still older.[6]

[1] i. e. 1480–1, *de procuracione Roberti Essex de indulgentiis hic habitis sancti Johannis* £1 7*s.* 4*d.*; 1497–8, *de oblacione in novo pixide hoc anno cum litteris indulgent' domini pape* £8 17*s.* 1*d*

[2] £60 from *Magistro Johanne Gurle (Gourll) canonico libere capell' sancti Stephani infra palat' regium Westm'*, and £20 from John Rogerson.

[3] *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp 368, 380.

[4] 6 *pynnes ferreis pro le crappes* (? crampes) *archebuttandor'* 9*d.*

[5] *operant' super le flat ledes ex parte boriali claustri et in repar' unius domus ex parte occidentali dicti claustri et factur' unius novi guttur' ibidem* 53/10.

[6] i e. in position. The house was rebuilt in Lord Keeper Williams' time, and one of the waterpipes bears the date 1631.

The year 1482 witnessed the commencement of the great undertaking of the vaulting. Besides the rolls of the *Novum Opus* there is still extant a roll with this title '*Perquos* of the account of Robert Essex surveyor of the vaulting (*supervisor operum voltorum*[1]) of the church of St. Peter Westminster'. The account runs from March 23, 1482 to May 11, 1483, that is into the reign of Edward V. The vaulting required a special effort, and Esteney determined to begin it at his own cost. He put the work into the hands of Robert Essex and gave him £115. Robert Essex had filled various offices in the convent, and at Michaelmas 1482 he became prior in the place of Thomas Arundel. Essex was the author of a petition to King Edward IV which gives us some curious information, and the fact that it is kept among the fabric documents must be our excuse for quoting it here (*Munim.* 6225): 'To the kyng our sovereign lord. Please it your most noble grace to call unto your good remembraunce how that your fframes ordaigned and made for the makyng of sylkes stondith as now unoccupied within your monastery of Westminster and that in consideracion thereof it wolde like your good grace to graunte the said fframes with their instrumentes ther[to] necessarily belongyng unto your faithfull oratour Domp' Robert Essex and he shall ordaigne werkmen toccupie the same in the place there as they be at his costes and charges and over that continually prey to God for the preservacion of your most noble persone and estate roiall.'

To return to the vaulting, Essex bought 149 loads of stone, and employed twenty-three masons for varying intervals,[2] making an average of six or seven masons a week for the fifty-eight weeks of his surveyorship. This came to an end in May 1483, and after that the work was carried on by the *Novum Opus*. Unfortunately at this critical period the accounts for three years (1484-5, 1485-6, and 1488-9) are missing, so that we cannot trace the progress of the work with exactness. This is our evidence. Essex bought '1 great stone' and 'four other great stones', apparently for the bosses of one bay. There is no mention of such stones in 1483-4, and for the next two years we have no information. In 1486-7 we have 'one great stone called *le grete keye*', with 'five other smaller

[1] *Sic* in MS. The existence of this roll and of John Rogerson's bond (see p. 62) shows that sometimes the wardens or abbots undertook work of their own independently of the *Novum Opus*. A happy chance has preserved us these two documents. But there may have been other similar ones originally, and perhaps we are to account for the glazing of the aisle windows in this way.

[2] The total number of weeks comes to 374.

stones called *lez keyes*'[1]—another bay. In 1487–8 the same entry occurs twice over—2 bays.[2] Then the roll for 1488–9 is lost, but we know that in that year a special agreement (*convencio*) was made with Robert Stowell for the finishing of three severies and the arch at the top of the nave for £120, of which £74 was paid the same year. This is the only instance which we have come across of contract work on any large scale, and unfortunately we have not got Stowell's account of his expenditure. All that we know about it is contained in this entry in the roll of 1489–90 *et ulterius* (i.e. beyond his usual fee) *solut' predicto Roberto £46, in plenariam solucionem £120 de convencione in grosso trium severees et le arche in summitate navis ecclesie cum ipso fact' in anno precedenti.* These three severies could hardly have included the tower bay, for the subsequent course of the work shows that it was not completed now. Hence the arch at the top of the nave, which no doubt is the great arch at the west of the tower bay, marks the limit of Stowell's work, which therefore covered bays 9, 10, and 11. The question then arises—where did Essex begin in 1482? We should naturally have supposed at the fifth bay, but in the fifth and sixth bays there are undoubted Tudor badges which could not have been carved until after 1485. Essex then began to work on the seventh bay, and two bays (7, 8) had been finished when the contract for the completion of three more was made with Stowell in 1488–9. There is indeed a Tudor rose between the seventh and eighth bays, but the only safe inference to be drawn is that it marks the slow progress of the work, as it could hardly have been put up until after 1485. But this and the evidence of the bosses is discussed in Appendix III (p. 86).

[1] They were not called bosses here, for that was the name of a bucket. 1423–4, *pro ligacione unius cowle et i boket voc' le Bosse*; 1483–4, *pro factur' de uno magno Bosse.*

[2] These are the particulars:—

N O 1481–2, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar' pro eor' oneribus* 13*s* 4*d* This entry is new, and only occurs four times. it points to something special

Essex, 1482–3, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar' pro eor' oneribus* 13*s* 4*d.*, *et sol' pro i magno lapid'* 8*s*, *et in regard' dat' pro iv aliis magnis petris habend'* 1*s.* 4*d.*

N O. 1482–3, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar'* 12*s.*

1483–4, *in regard' dat' vect' petrar' pro eor' oneribus benefactis* 12*s.*

1486–7, *in regard' pro uno magno lapide vocat' grete keye* 9*s* 6*d*

et in regard' pro aliis quinque minoribus vocatis lez keyes 8*s* 4*d.*

1487–8, *in regard' pro i magno lapide voc' le grete keye* 12*s* 4*d.*

in regard' pro aliis quinque minoribus voc' lez keyes 8*s* 4*d*

The same entry is repeated lower down this year It is not a repetition by mistake, for the two entries accompany two orders of Reigate stone, 59 cartloads and 49 respectively

In these past eight years (1482–90) the carpenters had been occupied chiefly in moving the scaffolding from severy to severy as the work advanced. The scaffolding was elaborate. Each portion of the great scaffold, upon which the centres stood and where the masons worked, was floored and shut off by partitions from wind and weather. With the scaffolding the great wheel and the ginnies had also to be moved from bay to bay. Above the 'beams'[1] and the vaulting, and stretching beyond the centres, there was a scaffold or boarding on which the great wheel was placed so as to raise up the great keys. Pains were taken to exclude the wind and the pigeons: and the great windows of the new work were all boarded up. Incidentally we learn that the new work was separated from the old church, at least in the upper story, by canvas stretched upon a wooden framework.[2]

In 1490, the year which we have reached in the vaulting, there is a great increase in the carpentry bill, which amounts to £60. It is thus explained. Richard Russell was making *lez grete scaffoldes in summitate navis ecclesie* and moving the centres to the next bays: then he was occupied at 'le Frith' in making *le newe scaffoldes pro lez syde yles* of the church; he also raised the same and made a new lodge in the timberhawe. This shows that the vaulting of the side aisles is now to be taken in hand. In the year 1490–1, then, there are four different works going on. (1) Richard Russell is making scaffolds and centres at the west end of the church, which is a sign that the tower bay was not yet vaulted. (2) He is also making the scaffolds for *lez batilments*, for which thirty-eight *dolia* of Caen stone were bought. (3) The

[1] Are these the tie-beams of the roof?

[2] The details given are very lengthy. I abstract the chief features.

1486–7, *removend' magne rote in novo opere et dimittend' lez centures subtus novum volt', et in removend' magni scaffold ubi lez centures stabant et in removend' unius scaffold' et lez gynnes cum merem' et lez bordes super lez bemys et supra le volt' ad vehend' magnam rotam in dicto novo opere . . pro le boordyng magn' fenestrarum dicti novi operis . . . operando super lez floores dicti n. o. . faciend' unius frame et unius hostii incedend' usque dictum n. o. . . . faciend' et ponend' lez centures et stayes cum scaffoldis supra lez bemes ultra lez centures et in faciend' divers' necess' ad convehend' le grete keye cum aliis keyes . . . faciend' . . . unum centur' ad constringend' le canvas inter opus et ecclesiam ad excludend' ventum.*

1487–8, *deponendo lez scaffoldes et synturs et removendo eorundem ad proximum severe et ibidem eos dimittendo ac levando unius frame inter novum opus ecclesie et vetus ubi le canvas stringebatur pro vento. et includendo fenestras in ambabus partibus n. o. desuper et subtus lez scaffoldes antedictis . . . levando le perticion subtus voltam super le magnum scaffold ad excludend' ventum . . . excludendo ventum et columbas in lez flores magni scaffoldi ac includendo magnas fenestras et hostia in dicto n. o.*

vaulting of the side aisles is in progress, and Thomas Devenish and Robert Ederett, carpenters, are occupied in 'excluding the wind *in lez round wyndowes desuper les voltes*,' that is, in the triforium windows, which are just above the aisle vaulting. This work seems to be still going on in 1493–4, for the wind has still to be excluded from the round windows in that year. (4) Lastly, there is a heavy lead bill, £43 7*s.* 7½*d.* This is enough to roof a severy Unfortunately, no details are given. It is tempting to think that it was to finish the roof between the towers; but a great deal of lead was bought in 1501–2 which may have been for this purpose. No details are given which can enable us to decide. All that we can find is that next year (1491–2) the carpenters are working with the plumbers on *les sydeflat roofes*; and as these roofs had been made in 1415 and 1418, they may have needed some renewal · moreover the gutters and pipes for the 'steep roof' would use up much lead. These works, especially the scaffolding, kept the carpentry bill very high; for the eight years 1482–90 (including the £60) it had averaged £17 8*s.* 5*d.* a year. But the following years it was to be higher still for the seven years 1490–7 it averaged £32 2*s.* a year.

In 1491–2 Esteney bought twenty great stones, each too big for one cart.[1] These stones must have been intended for keys, and keys greater than those of the aisles. They would therefore be those required for the tower bay and the bays left unfinished in the nave The chief feature, however, of this year is the first definite mention of work upon the great west window. Richard Russell is engaged in making and removing *les scaffoldes in occident' fenestr' ecclesie*, and Simon the smith is paid £32 13*s.* 10*d.* for 'all the iron-work pertaining to the great west window, viz. 3,503 lb. of Spayneshe Iron'. Next year 300 feet of great oaken quarters are bought for the centres for the west window (3*s.*), and planks and 'slyttingwork' for 'the great centres' (? for the vaulting of the tower) 10*s.*; Russell also makes a pentice over the new west window and covers the jambs

[1] *Et sol' pro xx^ti magnis lapidibus qui fuerunt ultra mensuram unius carect'* This year four *estrichebordes* were bought *pro belwhelys & moldis faciend'* (4*s.*), and next year Russell has to repair the great *belwhele in parvo campanile.* A bill of W Egerden 'to the sexten's office' for 1488–9 (*Munim* 19811) would seem to show that this *parvum campanile* now being fitted up with wheels for the bells was the north tower (the south tower was not yet high enough), here called *parvum* in distinction from the old Belfry. On Oct. 1, 1489, Egerden 'delyver'd to the Belfry of the New Werke . . . new lede for the gotters of the Belfrey . Item, . a pipe and a cestren for y^e same werke', and on Oct. 10 'newe lede to the Belfrey of the New Werke for a pype and a thorow gotter'.

and raises and takes down the centres and scaffolds there,[1] i. e. at the window. Other centres and scaffolds remain through the years 1493–5, and in the latter of these two years the great window and the arch above it seem to have been finished, for we now hear of 'bordyng' above (*super*) the west end of the church Next year (1495–6) ironwork is made for two new windows *in le gabulend*, and there is more boarding. Now we know that until the restoration in the eighteenth century there were only boards in the gable end, as Wren himself tells us in 1713 (*ap.* Widmore, p. 52) 'The great west window is also too feeble, and the gable end of the roof over it is but weather-boards painted.'

The three years 1494–7 show an increase in the masons' activity. Caen stone was bought again,[2] and the number of masons is increased from five to eight. But this last spurt brings us to the end of Esteney's rule. The good abbot died on May 24, 1498. He was buried in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, and we rejoice to think that we still possess his effigy on a brass. The encomium of John Felix has been justified. In his twenty-six years of wardenship Esteney had spent almost £4,400[3] on the New Work. He had finished the roof and the west end, the flying buttresses and battlements, i. e. the outer fabric of the church. And within, although three bays (5, 6, and 12) still remained to be vaulted, he had done the chief part of the beautiful vaulting which is the glory of the nave.

(*Fasset*)

George Fasset succeeded Esteney as abbot and warden. His tenure of office was short, as he died in October 1500, and no details of the work in these years are given which call for special note, except that stones were dug up and brought from 'Rosamond's Boure.' But Fasset deserves praise on financial grounds. When Esteney died he left a deficit in the office of the *Novum Opus* of nearly £600 (£599 9*s.* 2*d*). Of this we read at the foot of the account for 1497–8 · *Que summa perdonatur ex mero motu domini nunc abbatis pro anima pie memorie domini Johannis Estney nuper*

[1] *faciendo pentis desuper novam occidentalem fenestr' ecclesie ac cooperiend' lez geambes eiusdem erigendoque et deponend' de lez centures & scaffoldes ibidem.*

[2] 252 *dol'* altogether. For the three years they bought 255, 49, and 86 (with 96 loads of rag) *dol'* of stone respectively.

[3] Actually £4,398 1*s.*, i. e. £3,785 6*s* 3*d.* for the twenty-three years for which we have accounts, *plus* an average of £164 11*s.* 7*d.* for the other three years *plus* £119 spent on the vaulting. See, however, p 69, note [1].

abbatis predecessoris sui cui predicta debita pertinebant. This means that Fasset excused the arrears due to him, and so wiped out the deficit of the *Novum Opus*; in other words he made it a present of about £6,000 of our money. For this benefaction Fasset well deserves the fine tomb which preserves his memory in St. John the Baptist's chapel.

(*Islip finishes the Nave*)

John Islip, who was elected to succeed Fasset on Oct. 27, 1500, was the last of the great abbots. His rule lasted for thirty-two years; and a recent account of his abbacy by the Dean of Westminster is to be found in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1907. Islip had the joy and the honour of finishing the nave;[1] but though we use the word 'finish', it is difficult to point to the exact year in which the work was done. There is no trace of any ceremony of dedication, or, as we should have now, of public opening; and the reader of the records must choose his own date.

Islip finished the nave but not with the alacrity and zeal which we should have expected. In his thirty-one years of office he spent just over £3,500[2] (not all of which was on the new work) with an average of £113 a year, whereas Esteney's average was £164 11*s*. 7*d*. a year. There are several reasons to account for this. First, Islip was engaged in building on his own account. He built the chambers on the north side of Cheyneygates, i. e. the abbot's courtyard, which contain Jericho Parlour and now form part of the Deanery.[3] This building involved the blocking up of part of the south window under the tower, on the other hand he made the picturesque window which looks from them into the south aisle of the church and which is generally known as the 'Abbot's Pew'. Later on he built a chantry chapel for himself, called the Jesus Chapel, where he now lies. Secondly, a new era of building began at the east end of the

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[2] Actually £3,503 13*s*. 3*d*., i. e. £3,277 12*s*. 5*d*. for 29 years and an average of £113 0*s* 5*d*. for two other years. (See p. 69, note [1])

[3] In the last year of Esteney, 1496–7, twelve loads of ragstone were carried from Eybury to the church, and thirty-four loads from Cheynygates at 4*d* a load. *Et in cariag' de xii lodes Rag ab Eybury usque ad ecclesiam* 4*s*. *Et in cariag' de xxxiv lodes a le Cheynygates usque ad ecclesiam* at 2*d* a load, 5*s* 8*d* This looks as if Esteney had begun or had contemplated the building of these chambers.

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church, where Henry VII built a new Lady Chapel intended at first to serve as a burying-place for Henry VI, and afterwards for himself. In the account for 1502-3 we find the carpenters and labourers engaged in taking down (*deponendo*) the chapel of St. Erasmus and in the demolition (*prosternacione*) of the chapel of Blessed Mary, which had been built in Henry III's time and out of the ruins Sir William Tiler, the king's master of the works, sold to the *Novum Opus* in 1503-4 £80 worth of stone. Islip himself laid the foundation stone on Jan. 24, 1503, and the building occupied the next twelve or fifteen years. It was built in the fullest development of Perpendicular with all the glories of fan tracery: Leland called it a 'wonder of the world' (*miraculum orbis*); and we can well imagine that it cast into the shade the nave at the other end of the church, which was still being built almost in the old style of the thirteenth century.[1] Thirdly, Islip had to meet several extra expenses,[2] which prevented his keeping a balance on the right side, and in particular a notable charge, costing the *Novum Opus* over £200, which we shall come across in the course of our narrative (p. 80).

Islip's work on the nave easily falls into chapters or periods. The first chapter, 1500-6, is the most important one; for it witnesses the completion of the fabric, i. e. of what Esteney had left undone both at the east and the west end of the nave. In 1501-2 there was a heavy lead bill. Thirteen fodders of lead were acquired,[3] and the total expense came to £72 2*s.* 2½*d.* We should connect this with the information about the carpenters Richard Russell and others received £17 for working *circa finem ultimi framii in novo opere ecclesie.* If we interpret these words in their simplest sense,[4] they would imply that the vaulting of the tower bay, and the roof above it, were now completed.[5]

[1] According to Widmore (p. 122) Henry VII left 500 marks towards the finishing of the work, but there is no trace of these marks in the accounts.

[2] In 1501-2 the *Novum Opus* paid £48 4*s.* 5*d* to cover the bad debts of the sacrist and intrinsic treasurer. In 1514-5 it paid for two 'whitwasshers' working in the chapter house 110 days £7 6*s.* 8*d.* For five years, from 1522 to 1527, it paid £10 a year in payment *magni subsidii domino regi per clerum anglie concessi* In 1527-8 a *nov' edific' apud Hyde* cost £21 6*s* 1*d.*

[3] One of these was given by Stephen Jenyng, alderman of London.

[4] *Ultimus* may be last in time, and be the scaffolding referred to below on p. 79. If the thirteen fodders were more than were needed for the end of the roof, then the surplus may have been used for roofing some of the little towers at the corners of the great towers, which had reached a level where they could stop: see Hollar's drawing of the west end (p. 82).

The carpenters' bill continues to be heavy in the following years,[1] but full details are not given as hitherto. They are working *circa les scaffoldes*, centres are also mentioned. Then in the entry for 1504–5 occur four words which throw a flood of light upon it. The carpenters receive £18 17*s.*; timber is bought for scaffolding, and over 17,000 'quarters' of 'elmenbord' and 'slyttyngwork' are sawn *pro nova volta ecclesie.* This entry was, as I had written in the first draft of this paper, 'most perplexing' so long as one held to the belief naturally to be derived from the perusal of the accounts hitherto that in 1482–90 all the seven bays of the nave (5–11) had been vaulted. But as soon as we recognize that the keystones of bays 5 and 6 could not have been carved until after 1485, the new information becomes illuminating. The heavy carpenters' work in the years 1503–5 (and possibly 1501–2 also) was the preparation of the scaffolding and centres for the 'new vaulting' of bays 5 and 6. And when this vaulting is finished in 1505–6, the fabric of the nave is now complete: the masons' work at once diminishes, and all that remains to be done is to provide the necessary furniture and ornamentation.

Thus the next chapter, from 1506 to 1510, records the glazing of the windows. It is also to be noted that in the two years 1507–9 the walls were washed.[2] In 1505–6, 3*s* 4*d.* was paid to a glazier coming from Malvern[3] to see the windows. Next year the account is missing, but in 1507–8 Richard Twyge, glazier, received £37 6*s.* 8*d* for the glazing of fourteen windows of the upper story of the church, i.e. of bays 5 to 11.[4] Next year Henry Saunder was engaged for twenty-four days in reeding the windows of the church (*pro opilacione fenestr' ecclesie cum le rede* 10*s.*) and 114 ells of canvas were also bought for them. These must be the west window, with perhaps the other windows of the towers, and the round windows. For in the case of these latter, as of the aisle windows, there is no mention of glazing in the rolls.[5] But next year, 1509–10, Richard Twyge filled the

[1] In 1501–2, £35.
(1502–3, demolition of the Lady Chapel).
1503–4, £37 11*s.*
1504–5, £23 12*s* 6*d.*

[2] 1507–8, *pro locione mur' in novo opere* 7*s.* 4*d.*, 1508–9, *pro locione murorum in n o* £2 4*s* 4*d.* In 1508–9 also occurs this entry · *et sol' pro luione* (? *limone*) *hostii n o. et pro factura ii scochyons* 6*s.* 8*d.*

[3] *Solut' uni vetriar' venient' de Malvourn'.*

[4] *Solut' Ricardo Twyge veterar' pro le glasyng de xiv fenestris superior' store ecclesie ex convenc' in grosso* 1,200 *bryk* were also bought for him, 6*s* 4*d.*

[5] Except for the two aisle windows in Mylling's time (p. 63). In 1503–4 we

great west window with glass, for which he received £44, and also one window in the upper story for £3. This must be the clerestory window on the north side of bay 12, for at this time the corresponding story of the south tower was far from completion. This ends the period of glazing.

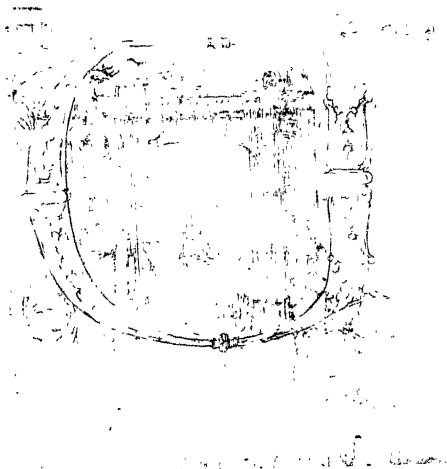
The next period is that of paving, 1510–17. To get ready for this, 469 cartloads of *le rubysshe* were removed from the church in 1508–9, as again 121 in 1511–12, indeed, about this time rubbish is a frequent item under the head of carting. Stones also had been bought, viz., 1,000 *le paving stone* for £15 in 1507–8, and 2,000 more (£30) in 1508–9. Then in 1510–11 four 'hardhewers' are engaged for four weeks *pro pavyng in navi ecclesie* The purchase of paving stone, or 'marbull' as it is once called, with the work of the hardhewers, goes on till 1517 and then stops.[1] Within this period there had also been a renewal of activity among the carpenters from 1513 to 1516. They were engaged in making scaffolds and centres, and in 1514–15 their sphere of work was *circa les bell whelez.* This looks as if they were preparing the second story of the north tower to receive the bells.[2] But this work, too, stopped next year For a new burden had fallen on the warden of the New Work; in 1517–18 he had to rebuild the chancel of St. Margaret's. The *billa* giving the items is still attached to the roll for the year. The cost was £191 11*s*. 1½*d*., towards which the parishioners contributed £30, leaving the warden to pay £161 11*s*. 1½*d*., which he had to recover by slackening the New Work for a time.[3] In 1524–5, 69 feet of *hardestone de Kentt* is bought for the steps (*le steppys*) in St. Margaret's; and again £53 is paid in 1528–9 for the stalls there. Kentish hardstone had also been bought for the *Novum Opus* in 1520–1 and 1523–4[4]; and hardhewers were at work from 1520 to 1524. From the instance of

read *solut' Christoforo fabro hoc anno pro ferramentis in fenestrar' borialium novi operis ponder'* (779 lbs.) £4 17*s*. 4½*d*. To judge from the weight and price these must be small windows, probably round windows of the triforium

[1] In all 8,550 paving-stones, costing £128 5*s*

[2] The bells hung in this tower in Wren's time He says '' The two towers are . . . too low: for the bells are so much lower than the roof that they are not heard southward so well as they would be a mile off' (Widmore, p. 52). See above, p. 75 n

[3] A curious mistake illustrates the carelessness in the abbey finances at this time The deficit at the foot of the roll for 1517–18 is £107 10*s*. 10¼*d*. This appears at the head of the roll for 1518–19 as £161 11*s* 1½*d* The fact is that the scribe has copied the deficit on the *billa* for St Margaret's chancel by mistake. The mistake was not rectified subsequently: thus Islip gained about £54 by having a larger deficit entered on his account than he ought to have had.

[4] 73 ft. and 50 ft The hardhewers only work for short periods of time.

THE NAVE IN 1532

(AS REPRESENTED IN THE ISLIP ROLL)

St. Margaret's we may conjecture that this was for making steps and thresholds.

The next and last period is from 1524–8, when new masons appear. John Molton and others are occupied in *entaylyng*, i e carving, and are paid by piece-work (*in grosso*)[1] What this entayling was is suggested by an entry in 1525–6 'Paid to Thomas Nele hardehewer working in the Jesus Chapel (*in capella de Jhū*), 13*s*. 4*d*' Now we are familiar with the interesting carvings of Islip's arms and rebus upon that chapel · and we know that there remained up till the middle of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century stone screens, bearing Islip's rebus, which enclosed the spaces or chapels under the western towers. Hence we cannot go wrong in assuming that those screens were put up in these years—and that indeed we may consider as the completion of the nave of Westminster, which would be dated accordingly in 1528.[2]

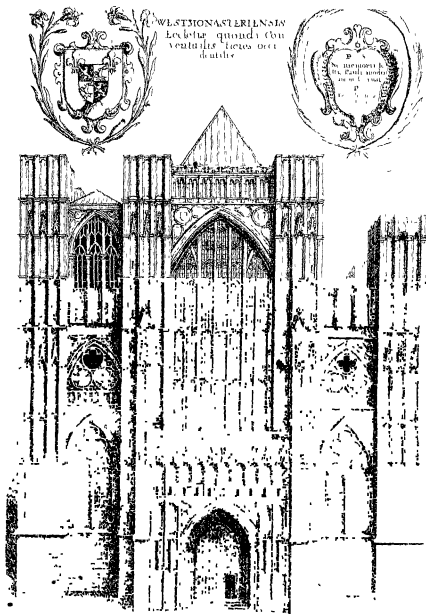
The nave finished, there is a renewal of activity on the part of masons and carpenters. The work on the towers is seriously taken in hand. It would seem that Islip was suddenly filled with a desire to see before his death the northern tower completed, that is to say, brought to a level where it might with decency be left, and he did not scruple to over-spend his income. Accordingly, when he died, he left a deficit of £350 2*s*. 4½*d* Masons' work had been going on all these years, but since 1505 at a very slow rate, only two masons being as a rule employed. Robert Stowell's tenure of the office came to an end in 1505. He was succeeded by Thomas Redman, and he again in 1516 by Henry Redman. Both of these had been working masons on the staff. In 1528–9 John Molton, who had come to 'entail', and William Taylor, one of the staff, became joint master masons. The same year the staff was increased, 369 loads of stone (including 179 *dol'* of Caen stone) were bought, and £50 2*s*. 6*d*

[1] In 1524–5, £1 4*s* 8*d*,
1525–6, £2
1526–7, £7 9*s*.
1527–8, £6 12*s*
} = £17 5*s* 8*d*

[2] If any one would regard these screens as being ornamental rather than essential, he might date the finish at the completion of the paving in 1517, or, as hardhewers were at work again over the steps, in 1524. Widmore (p. 61) says. 'The building was ended about the year 1500' There is still later mention of hardhewers, from 1527 to 1531—in 1530–1 with a *roughlaier*, defined the next year as *alias tyler*—but it is not stated that the work was in the nave, no more paving marble was bought after 1516, there is mention of paving elsewhere in the cloister and other parts of the church, and an entry in 1533–4, *paviatori pro le paveynge infra occidental' port' sanctuarii*, suggests that the work in these years was in such places

was spent on timber and carpenters' work. This points to an active resumption of work on the north tower. The work was maintained the following year. But on May 12, 1532, Islip died at Neyte. His body was brought to the abbey on May 16, and the funeral procession which entered the monastery by the Tothill Street gate was probably the first great ceremonial procession which passed through the new nave In the initial letter of his obituary roll, commonly known as the 'Islip Roll', there is a picture of the church. The great wheel stands high and conspicuous on the top of the north tower, the third story of which, corresponding to the clerestory of the nave, is all but completed[1] The south tower also *seems* to be completed, and roofed at the level of the top of the clerestory, but here the evidence of the roll conflicts with that of Hollar's pictures, one in Dugdale (1653), and another in the Pepys collection at Magdalen College. From these it unmistakably appears that, while the small corner towers or *turriculi* stand at a fair height, the walls connecting them have only just passed the triforium level.

The knell that tolled at Islip's death was really a knell for the convent itself. The appointment of his successor, William Boston, a stranger from Peterborough, was the beginning of the end. To judge from the state of the account rolls of the various offices, a paralysis seems to have fallen upon the monastery. Such at least was the case with the *Novum Opus*. There are two rolls of this period still extant, viz., those for 1532-3 and 1533-4, but neither is made up or balanced. In the former year two masons and an apprentice are employed; but in the latter William Taylor works for twenty-eight weeks, and that is all. An interesting historical entry may fitly conclude this history of the *Novum Opus*, for with the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn on the Whit Sunday of 1533 a new era is at hand: *Et sol' paviatori pro reparacione vie circa portas sanctuarii erga coronacionem domine regine et lapidibus tunc emptis* 10*s.* 3*d.*, *Et sol' pro emundacione et le gravelinge ac sandinge sanctuarii et alior' neccssar' fact' circa ecclesiam et sanctuarium erga coronacionem domine regine* £7 15*s.* 1*d.* The mention

[1] It is in reliance on the accuracy of the artist of the roll that in this paragraph I have hitherto spoken of the *north* tower. Otherwise I should have inferred from the mention of the bell wheels (pp 80 and 75 n.) that this tower had already reached the stopping level, and that Islip was now pressing on the raising of the south tower to the same level. The artist has placed an erection over the crossing at the lantern which must be imaginary, unless it represents the dovecote which John Crendon the sacrist made *supra novam ecclesiam* in 1346-7.

THE WEST FRONT IN 1655

of the sanctuary may perhaps indicate that the coronation procession entered the church, not as hitherto by the north transept, but through the great west door, and, if so, the procession which escorted Anne Boleyn to be crowned was the first coronation procession witnessed by the newly completed nave.

The nave, then, was finished, but not the towers. Yet the fact that they, too, were finished in the eighteenth century is a proof that through, and in spite of, all the changes and vicissitudes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there has remained a continuity of organic life in what is still popularly called, after its ancient title, 'Westminster Abbey.'

APPENDIX I

(A) *Details of marble pillars under Peter Combe* (*pp.* 41, 42)

1387–8	part payment of £40 *pro 1 piler de marmor'*	£10
1388–9	*pro 1 columpna marmorea* .	£30
1389–90	[roll missing]	
1390–1	*pro column' marmor'* .	£70
1391–2	[roll missing]	
1392–3	[roll missing]	
1393–4	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£80
1394–5	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£40
1395–6	no marble bought	
1396–7	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£40
1397–8	[roll missing]	
1398–9	*pro marmor' hoc anno*	£60
1399–1400	[roll missing]	
1400–1	*pro 1 peler de marmor*	£40
1401–2	*pro 1 peler de marmor*	£40
1402–3	[roll missing]	
1403–4	*pro marbill hoc anno* .	£80

(B) *Details of ironwork for windows under Peter Combe* (*p.* 43)

The variation in weight for the various windows is perplexing, but I leave it for the consideration of the experts We must remember that the windows of bays 6, 7 and 8 in the south aisle are only half size owing to the cloister, and they would accordingly seem to be the '3 windows' of 1388-9

	Ironwork for	£	s	d
1388-9	2 windows weighing together 10 c = 1120 lb at $1\frac{3}{4}d$. per lb	8	3	4
	3 windows weighing together 9 c = 1008 lb at $1\frac{3}{4}d$. per lb	7	7	0
1389-90	[roll missing]			
1390-1	no ironwork			
1391-2	[roll missing]			
1392-3	[roll missing]			
1393-4	no ironwork			
1394-5	1 window weighing 4 c. 1 qr. 3 lb = 479 lb at $1\frac{3}{4}d$. per lb	3	10	0
1395-6	3 windows weighing together $18\frac{1}{2}$ c. 21 lb = 2093 lb at 16*s*. 4*d*. per c [= $1\frac{3}{4}d$ per lb] .	15	6	0
1396-7	1 window [weight not given, approx. 1050 lb.] .	7	13	0
1397-8	[roll missing]			
1398-9	no ironwork			

There is no further mention of ironwork for windows till 1413-6.

APPENDIX II

On a point of difference from Mr. Micklethwaite (*p.* 63)

In his diagram of the Abbey, given in Feasey and Micklethwaite's *Westminster Abbey*, 1899, Mr. Micklethwaite has marked the clerestory of bay 5 and the roof of bays 5 and 6 as '1500-1512' The reasons he gives for this are two · (1) 'In the vaulting of the last bays [i. e 5 and 6] there are Tudor badges' (p. 87); and (2) 'The clearstory windows in the bay of junction do not range either with those to the east of them or

those to the west of them' (p 88, note) Now while agreeing with him as to his date of the vaulting, I have put the clerestory and roof of bay 5 down to 1468-70, and the roof of bay 6 to 1474.

It is no light matter to differ from so great an authority, but I must first point out that the documents have revealed many new facts which were unknown to Mr Micklethwaite. Thus he did not know that the roofing was not begun till 1469, else he would not have assigned the rest of the roofing, other than these two and the last bays, to Henry V's time Nor did he know that the stone vaulting was put up quite independently of the roofing and after the roof had been completed, else he would not have written 'I think the upper vault was nearly all done [before Henry V's death]', (p 87), and this fact rather invalidates his first argument above for the late date of the roof in question.

Had Mr Micklethwaite been aware of the new facts, I feel sure that he would have modified his judgement It seems clear from the documentary evidence that the roof which was begun in 1469 was finished by 1479, that is, except a portion at the west end. We hear first of one bay, then of three bays, then—to judge from the quantity of lead—of at least three bays more In 1490-1 and in 1501-2 large quantities of lead are bought, so that in one of those years the west end must have been finished off. But there is no indication then of any finishing off at the east end of the roofing also. And when the vaulting of the east end of the nave is taken in hand in 1504-5, there is no mention of any roofing at the same time.

If, then, bays 5 and 6 had been roofed before 1479, the clerestory walls of bay 5 must have been finished also, and I do not suppose that there is any architectural feature in the windows of that bay which would not suit 1468 as well as 1500-12 If Mr Micklethwaite had known that Millyng roofed just one bay and then left it for five years, I think he would have agreed that bay 5 was the one most likely to have been then taken in hand, as has been argued on p. 63.

In conclusion, there is a small point which bears out my argument. On Mr. Micklethwaite's theory there must have been in the clerestory a great open space and *two* partitions between the old work and the new. But we learn that in 1486-8 (p 74) they were only separated by canvas stretched on a wooden frame.

APPENDIX III

The Keys of the Vaulting (*pp.* 72, 73, *and* 79)

ON referring to the plan of the vaulting, for which I am indebted to Mr. Gladwyn Turbutt, it will be seen that the figured or significant keys are as follows.—

A group of figured bosses in bays 5 and 6 which will be described below—they include with others the arms of the Abbey and of St Edward, and a Tudor rose.

St Peter's arms, i. e the cross keys, between bays 6 and 7.

A Tudor rose between bays 7 and 8.

An IHS in the centre of bay 9

A portcullis flanked by the arms of St. Edward (east) and of the Abbey (west), in the twelfth or tower bay.

An ihu under the south tower, and the Abbey arms under the north tower.

The Abbey arms in the westernmost bay of the south aisle, and a Tudor rose in the easternmost bay of the north aisle.

If Esteney began his vaulting at the seventh bay, as is maintained in the text (p 73), the keys of St. Peter must be due to him, and the Tudor rose will show that this bay could not have been completed until after August 1485

The IHS in bay 9 occupies the middle point in Esteney's work. The Dean of Westminster has recently discussed the use of this symbol in the Abbey in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1907, so here we need only compare the (?) unique ihu under the south tower with the inscription on Esteney's tomb Exultabo in Deo ihu meo (Hab. iii 18)[1].

Esteney must also have been responsible for the Abbey arms in the south aisle (p 74), and therefore for the same arms under the north tower. For these two are similar in form and have the mitre *dexter*, so differing from the other two representations in the sixth and twelfth bays, which have the mitre *sinister*.

In the tower bay we have an undoubted badge of Henry VII, the portcullis, with the arms of St Edward and of the Abbey—the latter with mitre *sinister* The history has shown us that this bay could hardly have been finished in Esteney's time, and so the portcullis is due to Fasset or Islip.

[1] There is an ihs over the entrance to Islip Chapel. I should conjecture that this had served as a Jesus Chapel before Islip appropriated it for his chantry, and when he did so, he put in a floor and made a second chapel above to serve for the special worship customary in the Jesus Chapel.

We are now left with the fifth and sixth bays, which are distinguished from the others by an elaborate scheme of shields and badges as well as by the later form of the work.

The sixth is the central bay in the long line of roof between the western towers and the lantern; and in its centre is a Catharine wheel. This is flanked north and south by blank shields, and east and west—like the portcullis in bay 12—by St Edward's martlets (east), and the Abbey arms (west) of a type similar to those in bay 12.

Between bays 5 and 6 there is a large helmet on a shield, surmounted by a (?) cap of maintenance with mantling. The shield is apparently quartered, but it is difficult to see, and what appears to be quartering may be the cross keys The significance of this boss I do not understand, but it is probably some royal device, as Henry VII was jealous of his cap of maintenance.

In the centre of bay 5 is a blank shield, but its angel supporters who hold up a crown show that it is meant for the royal arms of Henry VII. East of this is a Tudor rose, and south what may be a rose in a fetterlock, and if so we have two emblems of the union of the houses of York and Lancaster West and north are two blank shields These blank shields, of which there are five altogether, are characteristic of these two bays, and the form of the shield with a hole for the spear is a late one They were of course meant to be painted: possibly they were painted, but the colour is all gone now

From this examination the fifth appears to be the royal bay, while the sixth represents the Abbey. But why is the place of honour in the sixth bay, and in the whole nave, filled by a Catharine wheel? The answer probably is to be found in the fact that it is a badge which unites the Abbey and the Royal family, the Church and State Henry VII was proud of his descent from Catharine of Valois, the queen of Henry V, and St Catharine held an honourable position at Westminster The Norman chapel of the Infirmary was dedicated to her; and at Islip's funeral hers was one of the four banners of the saints which were carried close to his body[1] But there is more than this Princess Catharine of Aragon had arrived in England on Oct. 2, 1501, and on the following Nov 15 was married to Prince Arthur, and these events were the occasion of much popular pride and rejoicing in England The prince indeed died on April 2, 1502, but Catharine was betrothed to his brother Henry on June 25, 1503 Now the date of the *nova volta* was 1504–5 (p 79). This coincidence of dates cannot be neglected; and it serves to clench the identification of this *nova volta* with the vaulting of bays 5 and 6, which were left undone by Esteney when he began the vaulting in 1482.

[1] Widmore, p 207 The others were B Mary, St. Peter, and St Edmund.

On the other hand, we cannot overlook the possibility of Esteney having begun his vaulting at the west end, i e with bay 11, and having worked eastwards—a view held by Mr Francis Bond. In this case the difficulty about the Tudor badges disappears, and Esteney could well have completed the vaulting by 1498, which would agree with the testimony of John Felix (p 67) Against this are three objections (1) Stowell's convention in 1488–9 (p 73) included 'the arch at the top of the nave', and what can this be but the arch between bay 11 and the tower bay? (2) The vaulting could not have been completed by 1491–2, for in that year Esteney bought the '20 big stones too big for a cart' (p 75). but after that year there is no mention in the rolls of any vaulting in Esteney's time, except for the side aisles (3) What could the *nova volta* of 1504–5 have been which required so much work for scaffolding and centres? For these reasons I adhere to the view expressed in the text, viz that Esteney began with bay 7 and worked westwards

If this interpretation of the vaulting be correct, it gives a further illustration of the history of the times Esteney, the friend of Millyng, was, we may presume, Yorkist in feeling In 1486 he leased his house at the Abbey to Queen Elizabeth Wydvyle (*Abbey Register*, p. 4), though she was not allowed to enjoy it. Esteney then put no Tudor badges on his vaulting, except one Tudor rose, and Henry VII did nothing for the Abbey in Esteney's days Fasset's abbacy was too short to be significant. His successor Islip enjoyed Henry's confidence and friendship. The king now begins to build his magnificent Lady Chapel, and the grateful abbot studs his vaulting with the royal arms and badges[1]

APPENDIX IV

The Cost of the Work

I HAVE collected in (A) all the receipts of the *Novum Opus*, with averages for the missing years and any extra payments which I have come across which are not entered among the receipts of the office; in (B) I have distributed this sum among the various contributors Unfortunately the figures can only be taken as approximations, as we labour under two difficulties, (1) the number of years for which the accounts are missing; (2) our limited knowledge of expenditure outside the office

[1] Perhaps this is too fanciful The keystones were all bought by 1491–2 (p. 75), and the subjects may have been chosen, and the carving begun, some time before the keys were put in their place in the roof.

The greatest defect in the calculation is our ignorance as to how much was spent on the nave by Litlyngton. I have only ventured to put down the two payments which we know Langham to have made in his lifetime, with the minimum income of the *N. O* for those years. The second list suffers most from these difficulties, as, except in some cases, I have not calculated averages but only put down the actual gifts recorded. Thus it is probable that Richard II gave £100 or £200 more than is put down, and we are told that he gave some jewels also. Henry VII left 500 marks to the *N. O.* which does not appear in the accounts, and therefore I have omitted it The abbots especially suffer in this way, for I think it is extremely probable that Millyng and Esteney may have spent more out of their private purse than appears

The final result is that we get a sum total of £24,221, and if we add £779 as quite a modest estimate of the Cardinal's money spent in 1376–87 with the cost of glazing the aisle windows (p. 63), we get a round sum of £25,000. But we have seen that a large part of the income of the *Novum Opus* and other convent revenues (roughly £14,400) was spent in working, estate, and other expenses For these we must estimate a sum between one-third and one-fourth; for the sake of the round figure let us say £4,000. This would leave £21,000 as the actual cost of building the nave. a sum which would represent in modern values, if we multiply by $12\frac{1}{2}$, £252,000; if by 15, £315,000.

A.

	£	s	d.		£	s.	d.
1376–87 (*Litlyngton*) . . .					868	0	0
N. O. £52 for 9 years (pp 37, 39)	468	0	0	+ (?)			
Langham, £200 for 2 years . .	400	0	0				
1387–99 (*Peter Combe*)					2977	4	6
N. O. for 8 years* £782 10*s.* $10\frac{3}{4}d$ and 2 months £30 16*s.* 2*d.* *plus* average for 4 years £391 5*s.* $5\frac{1}{4}d$	1204	12	6				
Richard II gifts £293 6*s.* 8*d* + ? Folkestone £114 13*s.* 4*d.* + [£60] *Stoke £666 13*s.* 4*d.* + [£160]	1294	13	4				
Queen Anne's funeral and anniversaries	351	5	4				
John of Gaunt	66	13	4				
Litlyngton's legacy (p. 40) . .	60	0	0				

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1399–1413 (*Ralph Tonworth*)				956	11	6
N. O. for 7 years	453	17	6			
and 2 months	8	16	6			
plus average for missing 7 years .	453	17	6			
Stoke	40	0	0			
1413–22 (*Henry V*)				4452	0	8
Henry V £3230 13*s* 4*d* . *plus* average for missing payments £630 6*s* 8*d* . . .	3861	0	0			
N. O.	591	0	8			
1422–67 (*Harweden, Kyrton* and *Norwych*) . . .				3744	0	0
1422–55						
N. O. for 16½ years	1278	0	2			
plus average for 16½ years . .	1278	0	2			
1455–67 (p. 51)						
N. O. for 10 years	992	17	8½			
plus average for missing years . .	195	1	11½			
1467–71 (*Millyng*)				752	3	5
N. O.	552	2	5			
Deficits excused	162	5	0			
Rogerson's bill (p. 63) . . .	37	16	0			
1471–97 (*Esteney*)				5247	16	2
N. O. . . . £3945 11*s* 6¼*d*. *plus* average for 3 years £514 15*s* 5¾*d*	4460	7	0			
Esteney's contribution to the vaulting	119	0	0			
Legacy not entered in account .	69	0	0			
Deficit (excused by Fasset) . .	599	9	2			
1497–1500 (*Fasset*)				432	19	5½
N. O.	432	19	5½			
1500–32 (*Islip*)				4454	2	10
N. O.	3839	4	10¾			
plus average for 2 years . . .	264	15	6¾			
Islip's deficit	350	2	4½			
1532–4 (*Boston*)				336	1	5½
N. O. for 3 years, say	336	1	5½			
				£24,221	0	0

B.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Kings . . .				6066	8	
Richard II, £1685 18s 8d						
Gifts in money . .	293	6	8+(?)			
Folkestone £114 13s. 4d + [£60] =	174	13	4			
Stoke . £706 13s 4d + [£160] =	866	13	4			
Queen Anne's funeral, &c . .	351	5	4			
plus jewels (?)						
Henry V, £3861 0s 0d						
From the Hanaper . .	2264	0	0			
From other sources . . .	966	13	4			
with average of same for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years .	630	6	8			
Edward IV and family, £519 9s 8d.						
The King	239	3	0+40 oaks			
The Queen	173	13	4			
The Prince	106	13	4			
Other secular persons (including legacies) . . .				348	19	8
John of Gaunt	66	13	4			
1388–1402	18	4	0			
1468–1490	264	2	4			
Duke of Gloucester, 40 oaks} in 1472–3. Sir Tho. Bowcer, 20 oaks}						
Alderman Jenyng, a fodder of lead in 1501–2.						
Abbots				1232	4	7
Langham	400	0	0			
Litlyngton	60	0	0			
Millyng . . .	53	15	5			
Esteney	119	0	0			
Fasset	599	9	2			
The Brethren (individual monks' contributions) . .				2079	0	0
1468–1522 (pp. 64–5) . .	1543	3	0			
1523–34 . .	75	13	4			
Average for 5 missing years . .	145	3	8			
£5 harvest treat (p 64) for 63 years	315	0	0			
The new pyx (p. 64)				7	14	4
1468–71 (Millyng)	1	19	$0\frac{1}{2}$			
1471–98 (Esteney)	3	2	$4\frac{1}{2}$			
1498–1500 (Fasset) . . .		9	0			
1500–4 (Islip)	2	3	11			
Indulgences (pp. 70–1)				70	4	5
1476–7	60	0	0			
1480–1	1	7	4			
1497–8	8	17	1			
Convent revenues (= the remainder)				14,416	8	8
				£24,221	0	0

APPENDIX V (A) *Table of*

Kings	*Abbots*	*Priors*
(1327 Edward III)	(1333 Thomas Henley)	(1334 Simon Warewyk)
	1344 Simon Bircheston	1346 Simon Agmondesham
	1349 Simon Langham	1349 Simon Langham
		1349 Benedict Chertsey
		1350 Nicholas Litlyngton
	1362 Nicholas Litlyngton	1362 Richard Merston
		1376 Richard Exeter
1377 Richard II		
		1382 John Wratting
	1386 William Colchester	
1399 Henry IV		
		1407 Robert Whately
1413 Henry V		
	1420 Richard Harweden	
1422 Henry VI		
		1435 Nicholas Ashby
	1440 Edmund Kyrton	1440 William Walsh
		1456 John Flete

Officers, &c., 1335–1534

	Sacrists		*Wardens of the New Work*		*Master Masons*
	John Tothale				
1338	Feb 17. Robert Curtlington				
1338	Sept 29 John Mordon				
[?]	Hugh Schenegezze	+1341	Simon Berchiston John Mordon	+1341	(?) Walter le Bole
+1346	John Crendon	+1349	John Mordon	+1349	John Palterton
	[?]				
+1354	John Mordon				
+1356	John Lakyngheth				
[?]	John Bokenhull				
[?]	William Bromley				
1364	June 23 Walter Warfield				
1364	Sept 29 John Somerton				
[?]	William Zepswich				
1371	William Mordon	[? 1371]	William Mordon		
1377	Richard Honyngton				
1383	William Mordon				
+1385	Peter Combe				
		1387	Peter Combe	+1387	Henry Yevele
1399	Ralph Tonworth	1399	Ralph Tonworth	1400	William Colchester
1411	Peter Combe				
1412–22	[?]	1412	[?]		
		1413	Richard Harweden		
		[1413–22	Rich. Whityngton and Rich Harweden]		
		1420	William Sonwell	1420	John Thirsk
		1421	Walter Coggeshall		
+1422	Roger Cretton	1422	Nicholas Ashby		
1433	Edmund Kyrton	1433	Edmund Kyrton		
1440	Thomas Freston	+1442	John Frank		
1444	John Flete	+1445	John Flete		
1447	Thomas Pomeroy	1447	Mar. 25 Thomas Pomeroy		
1448	Thomas Cornwall				
1450	John Amersham			1452	John Smith
		+1455	Edmund Down		
		1456	John Flete		
		1457	Mar 25 Thomas Arundell		
		+1459	William Barnell	1460	John Redyng

	Kings		*Abbots*		*Priors*
1461	Edward I				
		1462	George Norwych		
				1466	Thomas Millyng
		1469	Thomas Millyng		
				1470	John Esteney
		1474	John Esteney	1471	Thomas Arundell
1483	Edward V			1482	Robert Essex
1483	Richard III				
1485	Henry VII				
				1490	Roger Blake
				1491	George Fasset
		1498	George Fasset	1498	John Islip
		1500	John Islip	1500	William Mane
1509	Henry VIII				
				1528	Thomas Jay
		1532	William Boston	1532	Dionysius Dalyons (or Daliaunce)

Appended note on the windows (*p.* 70)

I utilize this space for completing the table of the cost of ironwork on p. 70 n. [8] thus :—

	£	s	d.	
1468	14	8	1½	*pro diversis ferramentis* [including two windows ?]
1468–9	16	0	0	*pro ii nov' fenestr', etc.*
1469–70	12	6	0	*pro duabus novis fenestris in novo opere, etc.*

It will thus be seen that from 1468 to 1477 we have enough ironwork for seven bays of the clerestory (Nos 5 to 11). After this the iron bills become insignificant until the next century.

The item quoted on p. 70 n.[1] runs thus : *In quarteriis in fine ecclesie et pro lowpes et pro sex magnis fenestris in navi ecclesie* 3½ *carect' meremii electi* 29/2 *et in quarterbord pro fine ecclesie et pro vi fenestris magnis* 65/., whence it is not clear whether six or twelve windows are meant.

These notices, together with the items quoted on pp. 62, 63, 66, 69, 74, 79–80, make up all the allusions to the windows (except the west window) after the year 1468 : and their comparison leads me to suspect that windows *de* or *in navi* – aisle windows ; windows *in novo opere* = clerestory windows.

Sacrists	*Wardens of the New Work*	*Master Masons*
	1461 Thomas Ruston	
+1462 Thomas Ruston		
1467–70 [?]	1467 Dec. 25. Thomas Millyng	
+1470 John Esteney	1470 Thomas Crosse	
	1471 John Esteney	1471 Robert Stowell
•		
1498 George Fassett	1498 George Fasset	
1500 John Islip	1500 • John Islip	
		1505 Thomas Redman
1512 William Boston		
		1516 Henry Redman
		1528 { John Molton / William Taylor }
	1532 William Boston	

NOTE. + signifies that the accounts for the preceding year or years are missing, and therefore the officer may have been in office earlier The normal time for the entry upon office was Michaelmas.

The materials for the sacrists from 1335 to 1371 are so scanty that the list given is probably incomplete. In Henry VI's reign there are several rolls of the *N. O.* missing, so possibly we may have lost the name of one or more wardens, e.g. between Kyrton and Frank, Pomeroy and Down.

(B) *Table of extant Rolls*

Accounts of the Warden of the New Work —

From Michaelmas	1341	to November 1,	1344
,,	1349	Michaelmas,	1359
,,	1360	,,	1363
,,	1364	,,	1365
,,	1387	,,	1389
,,	1390	,,	1391
,,	1393	,,	1397
,,	1398	November 25,	1399
Michaelmas	1400	Michaelmas,	1402
,,	1403	,,	1405
,,	1408	,,	1409
,,	1410	November 22,	1411
,,	1412	December 4,	1422
,,	1423	Michaelmas,	1424
,,	1425	,,	1428
,,	1429	,,	1437
,,	1442	,,	1443
,,	1445	,,	1446
March 25,	1447	,,	1448
Michaelmas	1449	,,	1451
,,	1455	,,	1458
,,	1459	,,	1465
,,	1466	,,	1484
,,	1486	,,	1488
,,	1489	,,	1506
,,	1507	,,	1522
,,	1523	,,	1534

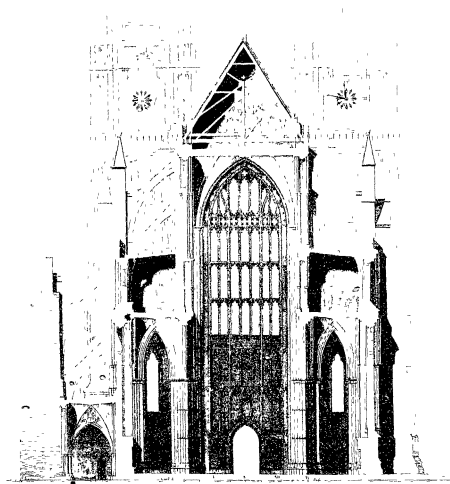
From this it will appear that out of 193 years (1341–1534), the accounts for 63 years are missing. Besides these we have—

Accounts of Richard Whytyngton and Richard Harweden
from July 7, 1413, to Dec. 25, 1416
Dec. 25, 1417 ,, 1418
,, 1420 ,, 1421

Account of moneys received from Henry Cays, Warden of the Hanaper, from March 21, 1413, to Aug 31, 1422

Account of John Flete for making of the Dormitory anno regni regis Henrici sexti xxviiimo

Accounts of William Thornewerk, or other collectors of rents;
from Michaelmas, 1445, to Michaelmas, 1446
,, 1447 ,, 1448
,, 1450 ,, 1451
,, 1452 ,, 1453

Account of Robert Essex, surveyor of the vaulting, from March 23, 1482, to May 11, 1483.

SECTION OF THE NAVE, LOOKING WEST

MINOS THE DESTROYER RATHER THAN THE CREATOR OF THE SO-CALLED 'MINOAN' CULTURE OF CNOSSUS

BY WILLIAM RIDGEWAY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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IN 1896 the present writer ventured to suggest that Cnossus would eventually prove to be a great seat of the Aegean culture because of its extraordinary prominence in legendary history as the seat of Minos and from the fact that already on the spot were known the ruins of a prehistoric palace, and that pottery and gems of a style similar to those found at Mycenae had also been found on the site. The old school of Greek archaeologists and historians laughed at him for his credulity in believing that any such person as Minos had ever existed. But notwithstanding this, in 1901 he repeated the same belief—that Cnossus would prove to be one of the chief *foci* of the Aegean culture Before his book was printed off, Dr. A. J. Evans had already made the first of those memorable discoveries which will always be associated with his name. Since then Minos has rapidly grown in popularity. Dr. Evans found a great hall with a very remarkable chair at one end. This great chamber with its stately throne he considers to be the hall and throne where the real Minos sat in judgement, and he holds that owing to the fame of this great presence-chamber and its chair Minos is represented in the *Odyssey* as judge of the Dead. So far all was well.

But Dr. Evans, not unnaturally, was carried away by the splendid discoveries which had rewarded his perseverance and sagacity. Unfortunately he was not content to describe the site and remains at Cnossus by a colourless scientific nomenclature and without any question-begging epithet. He applied the term Minoan not only to the culture found at Cnossus and to similar remains found elsewhere

in Crete, but he even desired to extend it to the whole of the Bronze Age culture of the Aegean. In this he was immediately followed by almost all other British Archaeologists, and also by the Americans and Italians. At the Cambridge meeting of the British Association in 1904, I protested against the use of the term 'Minoan' by my brilliant friend, and other scholars have since argued against its employment. But protest was in vain. Professor J. L. Myres, Professor Burrows, and others of the same school, not only persisted in applying the term to the Aegean culture, but have extended its use to a greater degree than Dr. Evans himself has ever done. Thus they not only now speak of the 'Minoan language' when treating of the pictographic and linear writings found at Cnossus, but they have even gone the length of making it into an ethnic, speaking of the whole population of Crete and the Greek islands as 'Minoans'. They avowedly wish to supplant by this term the historical names of Pelasgians and Achaeans, whilst Professor Burrows would fain wipe out the Eteocretans from the early history of Crete and apparently would erase the Carians from the annals of the Aegean. Professor Burrows, when writing of Pelasgians and Achaeans, maintains 'that what we want at the present moment is to clear the air of them. There is a danger that facts are being obscured by names',[1] and he adds a threat that 'those who do not adopt the term "Minoan" will find that they have dropped behind'. With his remark that 'facts are being obscured by names', I am in hearty accord, but it never occurred to Professor Burrows that it was by the use of the name 'Minoan' that the facts of early Aegean history are at the present time being not only obscured but distorted. Professor J. L. Myres[2] has taken up much the same position as Professor Burrows.[3] Yet these gentlemen are not very consistent, as one might cite various passages from their writings where they relapse into the ancient nomenclature. Thus, although it is said to be foolish for me to speak of the Achaeans as a real people and undoubted factors in early Greek ethnology, yet Professor Burrows does not hesitate, when speaking of certain tribes called Thursha and Akaiuasha (or Aqayuasha) in an Egyptian inscription who appear to have invaded Egypt in the reign of Merenptah (1234–1214 B.C.), to say that the names of these invading tribes 'can with scarcely a doubt be equated with Achaeans, Teucri, and Danai'.[4] There is indeed a high probability that the Akaiuasha of the Egyptian inscription were the Achaeans. But why is it probable? Is

[1] *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 203. [2] Op. cit., p. 44.
[3] *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1907, p. 18.
[4] Op. cit., p. 123.

it because an Egyptologist made a clever guess, and Professor Burrows believes that he is right? Is it not rather because the clever Egyptologist recognized in the inscription a name familiar through all Greek history? The whole strength of his suggestion lies in the historical facts, that there was a Roman province called Achaia, that this province took its name from an ancient division of Peloponnesus called Achaia, which in Macedonian times formed the famous Achaean League, that this Achaia had been so called from the time of the Dorian conquest when the remnants of a people called Achaeans, who had lived and reigned for several centuries in Argolis and Laconia, took refuge there, and that all Greek tradition tells us that these were the Achaeans who are represented in the Homeric poems as the lords of Thessaly, Argolis, Laconia, Elis, and the overlords of the rest of Greece, as having settlements in Crete, and making descents upon Egypt from that island. But this is the very evidence of which Professor Burrows wants to 'clear the air', and thus our only reason for believing in Homer's Achaeans for the future must be founded on the resemblance of the word Akaiuasha in the Egyptian inscription to Achaioi—not a very solid basis for an historical belief.

But it is typical of the school to which Professor Burrows and Professor Myres belong to invent new ethnics, when by their unscientific speculations they have involved themselves in inextricable difficulties. Thus Professor Burrows is an ardent believer in the 'Celticans', who have been invented in order to defend the untenable position that the aboriginal people of the British Isles were non-Aryans. These aborigines had to be changed miraculously in a couple of centuries into a Gaelic people, not only using an Aryan vocabulary, but with an accurate use of the Aryan tense system. I have dealt with the 'Celticans' in another publication of the *Academy*,[1] and I now propose to show that the 'Minoans' had as little reality in fact and history as the 'Celticans'.

Let us listen to history and tradition and hear what they have to tell us. Their voices may sometimes be thin and piping through extreme old age, but yet year after year the confirmation of their truthfulness rises up out of the very ground. Quite recently Professor Lecoq has shown that the tradition of Ptolemy the geographer respecting certain peoples in Eastern Turkestan is amply substantiated, not only by paintings, but by records written in a language of the West European type.

In our present investigation we shall commence with the archaeo-

[1] 'Who were the Romans?'

logical evidence and then compare it with the literary traditions. Let us turn to Dr. Evans's splendid discoveries at Cnossus.

The Neolithic Remains. The earliest evidence of human occupation is a large deposit of Neolithic age. From its thickness Dr. Evans computed that the Stone Age people must have dwelt on the site for over 10,000 years. But, as geologists well know, all computations of time based on such data are precarious, whilst a later discovery made by Dr. Evans himself proves that we must be cautious in assuming that the thickness of the Neolithic deposit is wholly due to gradual accumulation in the Neolithic period. Dr. Evans originally believed that the ground under the 'Grand staircase' was a solid accumulation during a long period, but his investigations in 1907 convinced him that this great mass really consisted of made-up earth. If, therefore, at one place under the palace the Neolithic stratum is not the result altogether of slow accretion, but consists of materials brought together by some builder of a later date, we must suspend our judgement respecting the length of the period during which the site was inhabited by men of the Stone Age, although no one can doubt that this may have been for a very long period.

The Minoan Periods. All the strata above the purely Neolithic Dr. Evans terms *Minoan*. Of this Minoan period, which he believes to have extended over several thousand years, he makes three main divisions:—*Early Minoan*, *Middle Minoan*, and *Late Minoan*. Each of these he again subdivides into three periods, thus making nine in all in fanciful adjustment to the nine years which Minos had attained when he became king.

By the simple substitution of *Cnossus* for *Minoan* Dr. Evans's chronology can be retained and at the same time made scientific in nomenclature. But for the present I shall retain his own terminology in summarizing the characteristics of the various periods.

Early Minoan I. This deposit reaches a depth of 17 feet. In it continues the black hand-polished pottery of the Neolithic Age, though the effect produced in that period by incised lines with a white filling is now obtained by paint laid on the flat. Dr. Evans proposes to synchronise this period with the first four Egyptian dynasties for reasons soon to be stated. But at present it is impossible to date with any accuracy the early period of Egyptian history. Lepsius placed the beginning of the First Dynasty at 3892 B.C., and this Evans has adopted; Professor Meyer brings the date down to 3315 B.C.; Professor Petrie formerly placed it at 4777 B.C., but now has pushed it back to 5510 B.C., and sets the

beginning of the Fourth Dynasty at 4731 B. C. For the synchronism of Early Minoan I with the early Egyptian period Evans relies on the following evidence:—(1) Petrie[1] thinks that the black hand-burnished pottery is 'indistinguishable in colour, burnish, and general appearance' from certain pottery found by himself in the tombs of Dynasty I at Abydos, and he suggests that this pottery may have been imported from Crete. (2) There are three stone vessels—syenite, diorite, and liparite—which are like well-known Egyptian types, and are therefore held to be either importations from Egypt to Crete, or copies from early Egyptian prototypes. But it has been pointed out[2] that there is no direct evidence that these three stone vessels were found in Early Minoan deposits at all. The syenite vase is placed by Dr Mackenzie, Dr. Evans's assistant, in Middle Minoan I, the diorite vessel was found (1902) 'among some débris from the south wall' of a store closet that contained a number of vases of Middle Minoan III.[3] The liparite bowl was found the same year in 'disturbed earth' on the east slope near some store-rooms containing Middle Minoan pottery.[4] It is further held that (a) vessels of these kinds may have continued to be manufactured in Egypt for a very long time, and (b) that even if the examples were certainly of the earliest Egyptian period, owing to their durability they might very well be found in deposits very many centuries later than the date of their own manufacture.

Early Minoan II. To this period Evans assigns vases, which are characterized by a great freedom of design and variety of shape In addition to straight lines simple curves are now used in decoration, and vessels with long horizontal spouts or 'beaks' are coming into use.

Early Minoan III. It is in this period that the Cyclades seem first to come into close connexion with Crete. Hitherto the Cycladic culture was apparently ahead of that of Cnossus and the rest of Crete. Representations of the human form of a type even more rude than the marble figurines of Amorgos have been found in Crete in the *tholos* at Hagia Triada along with very short triangular copper daggers, vases of the incised ware of the Neolithic period, and seals of a conical or cylinder shape. But it is in this period that marble figurines of the regular flat technique, so common in Melos, Amorgos, Paros, and other islands, make their appearance in Crete. With this epoch also are contemporary the beginnings of the First City at

[1] *Method and Aims of Archaeology*, p. 166, Fig. 64.
[2] Burrows, op cit., pp 44–5.
[3] *Brit. Sch. Ann*, vol viii, pp 88–9.
[4] Ibid., p. 123, Fig. 74.

Phylakopi in Melos, and the Second City at Troy (though it may have begun earlier and lasted longer)[1]

It is also in this period that Egyptian influence begins to be strongly felt in Crete, for the Cretan seals now show primitive pictographs which are supposed to be derived from the so-called 'button' seals of Egypt[2] These became common in Egypt under Dynasty VI, the beginning of which is placed by Petrie[3] in 4206 B.C., and by Meyer[4] in 2540 B.C.

Evans places the end of Early Minoan III at about 3000 B.C., and to this period he assigns the beginning of polychrome painting.[5] But here arise doubts. Dr Mackenzie[6] holds that the beginning of polychrome decoration and the development of a true spiral system cannot be assigned to any period earlier than Middle Minoan I, and to this later epoch he assigns three important early deposits of the palace at Cnossos, which Dr Evans regarded (1904) as the 'best evidence' for the culture of Early Minoan III[7] Incised pottery of the Neolithic type is found in Early Minoan II and III, either as a survival or a revival, more probably the former.

Middle Minoan I. To this period, as we have just seen, Dr. Mackenzie assigns the beginnings of polychrome painting and the development of the true spiral. At Cnossos, side by side with monochrome vases with the design in lustrous black varnish on buff clay slip, occurs lustrous polychrome decoration in white, yellow, orange, red, and crimson, on a lustrous black varnished ground.[8]

Along with the spiral decoration a naturalistic tendency now appears; a fragment of pottery shows three Cretan wild goats and behind them an object like a beetle. A pictographic script likewise distinguishes this period. Although of course there must have been habitations of some kind on the site of Cnossus during this and the previous periods, no traces of such have as yet been discovered. The most that can be said is that there are some pits, which may

[1] Dawkins, *Brit. Sch Ann.*, p. 195, Tod, ibid, ix, p. 342, Burrows, op cit., p. 50

[2] Evans, *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation Minoenne*, p. 7; *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, viii, p 121.

[3] *Sinai* (1906), p. 175.

[4] *Abhandl. d. Königl. Preuss. Akademie*, 1904, p. 178.

[5] *Essai de Classification*, &c, p. 6

[6] *Jour. Hell Stud.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 244–6.

[7] *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. x, p. 20.

[8] *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vol. xi, Plate I; *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol xxvi, Plates VII, IX X, XI.

have belonged to some large dwelling. There are distinct signs that this period was brought to a close by a general catastrophe

Middle Minoan II. In this period there are undoubted traces of what may be called the early palace. From the pits and the basement, which are assigned to this period, it would appear that the walls were of small rough masonry unlike the splendid and regular buildings of later days.[1] Though there are remains, the character of its plan and construction have to be inferred from the remains of the splendid palace at Phaestus, which from the evidence of vases is proved to be contemporary. It is from the floor-deposits occurring in almost all parts of the site that we infer that Cnossus at this time was not inferior to its sister city. In the pottery polychrome is now the rule, monochrome being only found in the common ware. This is the period of the Kamares ware in its highest development, with its thin fabric, elegant designs, and delicate colouring, exemplified in its cups and bowls.[2] Some of these have designs stamped in low relief.[3] The patterns are usually geometric with zigzags, crosses, spirals, concentric and semi-circles, whilst large surfaces are covered with plain dots. Designs from plants are rare, and when they do occur they are very conventional. This period, like Middle Minoan I, came to an end with a general catastrophe. In several parts of the palace large numbers of vases of the best polychrome style were found lying together on a floor in position and practically undamaged. Between them and the remains of the next period intervene a considerable depth of earth [4]

Middle Minoan III To this period belongs the main plan of the palace, as it now survives, especially its western portion, though changes in and additions to this part were made even in a later period. The temple Repositories west of the Central Court and a number of apartments on its north-east side were built in Middle Minoan III, but were covered up in the next period. The vases display a beautiful naturalism, as evidenced by a little boy painted in blue, gathering white crocuses in a field, and arranging them in a vase Even his flesh is painted blue.[5] There are also delicate lily patterns in white on lilac or mauve ground, but polychrome is being

[1] *Brit Sch. Ann*, vol. ix, p 17, Burrows, op. cit., p 58.

[2] Ibid., vol. viii (1901–2), p 120, Figs. 70–1; *Jour Hell Stud.*, vol. xxiii, Plates V, VI, vol. xxvi, Plate VIII.

[3] *Brit Sch. Ann.*, vol. viii, p. 118; Hogarth and Welch, *Jour Hell Stud*, vol xxi, pp. 81–3; Mackenzie, ibid., vol. xxiii, pp. 172–4, xxvi, pp 254–7; Burrows, op. cit, p. 60

[4] *Brit Sch Ann.*, vol. x, p 16

[5] Evans, *Brit Sch. Ann*, vol. vi, p. 45; Burrows, op. cit, p 62.

superseded by a naturalism In the temple Repositories vases imitating prototypes of a different material occur. These vessels were imports from Melos, which from this time onwards shows a close contact with Cnossus These vessels are reminiscent of skin prototypes.[1] There are also vessels of native manufacture in serpentine imitating leather or wicker-work [2] and also knobbed and roped jars of large size, the decoration of which represented the cording used in their transport [3]

In this epoch reigned the potentate who built for himself the fine tomb at Isopata on the hill that looks upon the sea Middle Minoan III, like its predecessors, ended in a general catastrophe.

Late Minoan I. This is the period of many masterpieces of art. The royal draught-board found in the palace probably belongs to this age Bronze swords now succeed to the daggers (probably of copper), the blades of which have been gradually lengthening during the Middle Minoan period.[4] Naturalism still prevails in the pottery in flower and shell designs The white on dark of the last period has now yielded to a dark on light and brown or red designs on a ground varying from buff to a yellowish pink. The linear writing of Class A is now in general use. To this period belongs the villa at Hagia Triada, with steatite vases, the fresco with a cat and bird, and the sarcophagus with a sacrificial procession. Zakro also supplies some good examples of the pottery of this period.[5] There are designs of reeds or grasses, such as are found on graceful pots from Phylakopi in Melos.[6] Phylakopi shows other close connexions with the art of this epoch as it did with that of the previous period, and the latest elements in its second city are contemporary. The Shaft-graves at Mycenae apparently begin in this period and continue into the next.

Late Minoan II. This is the great architectural period of Cnossus. To it belongs the Throne Room and the Basilica Hall of the Royal Villa, and the great fresco wall paintings, the most notable of which are the Cupbearer and the groups of spectators watching the games. In this period also there was a lavish decoration by means of stone carvings or painted plaster. The plaster work presents high reliefs,

[1] *Brit. Sch Ann*, vol. ix, Fig 2, p. 50, Fig. 25; *Phylakopi*, nos. 1-5, Edgar, pp. 119, 120, 135; Mackenzie, pp. 259-63, Plate XXI, nos. 1-5.

[2] Ibid, vol. vii, p. 666

[3] Ibid., vol. viii, p. 11, Fig. 5, ix, p. 27, x, p. 12, Fig. 3; Burrows, op. cit., p. 63.

[4] Evans, *Essai*, &c., p. 9; *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 105.

[5] *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xxii, Plate XII, no. 1.

[6] *Phylakopi*, Plate XIX, nos. 9, 10; Burrows, op. cit., p. 85.

such as that of the Bull's Head, and low reliefs, as seen in the king with plumes, as well as the ordinary flat painted surfaces The frescoes were framed with elaborate designs—zigzags, lozenge, fish-scale rosettes, and spirals. The decoration of the contemporary pottery reflects the ornament of the architecture. The naturalism of the vases coincides with the same feature in the architectural designs. All traces of polychrome painting or of monochrome light design on a dark ground have now departed. The fine 'Mycenaean' of dark upon light now dominates. The design being painted in a lustrous glaze ranging from red brown to black, the ground being a hand-polished buff slip on the terra-cotta body of the vase.[1] Links between Crete and the Greek mainland now appear, as in a fine vase some two feet high with a conventional flower design.[2] Mr. J H. Marshall,[3] now Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, by piecing together fragments of vessels found in chamber tombs at Mycenae and Vaphio cleverly pointed out a common origin for them and the Cnossian vase. The weapons also show a point of contact. Thus a sword-hilt with a pommel of white faience[4] seems to belong to the same type of sword as the fragment of a crystal hilt found in the Palace at Cnossus, and the splendid ivory and agate pommels found in some of the earliest tombs in the Zafer Papoura cemetery.[5]

The well-known false-necked amphorae, so characteristic of 'Mycenaean' sites both on the mainland and elsewhere, and which have been found in early strata both at Gournia and Hagia Triada in Crete have not been found in the Palace at Cnossus, save for a few fragments and one whole vase from the Royal Villa.[6] Yet in the next period it suddenly becomes the prevailing type at Cnossus. These vases, however, appear on the clay tablets, supposed to be inventories, found within the Palace, whilst some fine examples of the vases themselves have been found in the earliest tombs at Zafer Papoura. Their decoration seems copied from metal-work and resembles that of bronze vessels of the same period.[7] In order to explain the absence of the false-necked amphorae in the Palace it is

[1] Mackenzie, *Jour. Hell Stud.*, xxiii, p. 194; Evans, *Preh. Tombs*, p. 156, Fig. 144, Burrows, op cit., p. 86

[2] Ibid, p 158, Fig 148, Plate CI.

[3] *Jour Hell Stud.*, xxiv, Plates XIII, XXIII, p 192, Fig. 10, *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, vii, p. 51.

[4] R C. Bosanquet, *Jour. Hell Stud*, vol xxiv, pp 322-4

[5] Evans, *Preh. Tombs*, p. 110, Figs. 58-9, 66, 110, 112, pp. 56-7, 62, 106, 110.

[6] *Brit Sch Ann*, vol ix, p 173, Figs. 87a, 87b, Burrows, op. cit, p 89.

[7] Evans, *Preh Tombs*, pp. 121-2, Figs. 115-16.

suggested that from Middle Minoan III to Late Minoan II 'false-necked vases may at Knossos have been almost confined to metal-work, and their absence therefore may be due to the looting that has caused the disappearance of practically all metal objects from the Palace'.[1]

The conventional element seen in the designs of the 'Palace Style' distinguishes also the contemporary products in bronze and stone work. One splendid bronze vessel bears a close resemblance to a metal ewer depicted on the tomb of Sen-Mut, an important Egyptian who lived in the XVIIIth Dynasty (*infra* p 107), and, what is of special interest, it is presented by a Keftian.[2] The stone work of this period is especially striking, huge amphorae of veined limestone, a triton-shell carved out of alabaster, the head of a lioness with jasper eyes, a large weight of purple gypsum (64 pounds) carved with the tentacles of an octopus, and a tall lamp pedestal with ornaments of palmettes and lotus-buds are amongst the most important. The linear script of this period, termed Class B by Dr. Evans, shows an advance on that in use in the previous epoch 'It was a civilization which was still growing and developing that was given a sudden and crushing blow by the sack of Knossos.' There is no sign of decadence to be seen in this great epoch. It is suddenly cut short by a grand catastrophe

What, then, is the date of this sudden disaster? The date of the next period (Late Minoan III) can be ascertained with a high degree of probability from the collateral Egyptian evidence. Evans places Late Minoan I between 1800 B.C. and 1600 B.C., but Professor Burrows[3] argues in favour of a slightly later date at both ends, holding that it is unlikely that Late Minoan I 'ended till the XVIIIth Dynasty had already well begun'.

'This would suit excellently,' argues he, 'for the beginning of Late Minoan II.'

Egypt affords us the means of a good general date for Late Minoan II, for that period almost certainly synchronizes with the frescoes on two well-known tombs at Thebes—those of Sen-Mut and Rekhmara. In the paintings on these monuments the 'Keftians' and the men 'of the isles in the midst of the sea' are represented as bringing gifts or tribute to the Egyptian king.[4] There seems to be a high probability that the Keftiu represent the Bronze Age people of Crete and

[1] Burrows, op cit., p. 90.

[2] Burrows, op. cit., p. 90, who cites various references.

[3] Op. cit., p. 93.

[4] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, &c., vol. ii, p. 295, no. 761.

other parts of the Aegean (1) Their physical appearance and dress differs essentially from that of the other tribute-bringers—Egyptians, Semites, and other Asiatics—whilst they correspond very well to the physique and costume of the people depicted on works of art at Cnossus.[1] (2) The vessels also which they bear, in shape and style, resemble those of the great Palace period of Cnossus (3) Moreover, the ox-heads and metal ingots which they are supposed to carry seem to fall in well with the supposed monetary system of Cnossus [2]

What are the dates of the two Egyptian tombs? Sen-Mut was the architect of queen Hatshepsut, daughter of Thothmes I, and wife of at least one of his successors • Rekhmara was the prime minister of Thothmes III, and is now known to have been still living in the reign of Amenhotep II. All now turns on the date of Thothmes III, Amenhotep II, and Amenhotep III. Dr. Budge places the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep II at about 1500 B.C. But Petrie, Breasted, and the Berlin Egyptologists all place the reign of Thothmes III somewhere about 1500 B.C. to 1450 B.C., and accordingly they place the accession of Amenhotep II in the later year, thus making him live fifty years later than Dr. Budge's date. Petrie and the others make Amenhotep III succeed in 1414 B.C. or in 1411 B.C. The family history of Thothmes I, Thothmes II, Thothmes III, and Hatshepsut is still obscure, but it is held unlikely that she died more than thirty years before the accession of Amenhotep II. If that was in about 1450 B.C., which seems the most likely date, Hatshepsut can hardly have died before 1480 B.C. But as there is no reason for supposing that her architect died before her, Sen-Mut's tomb may very well be considerably later than that date, whilst on the other system it can hardly be earlier than 1530 B.C.

As Rekhmara survived into the reign of Amenhotep II, on Dr Budge's system, his tomb must be later at least than 1500 B.C., and by the other and more probable chronology later than 1450 B.C. The balance of probabilities is therefore in favour of placing the two tombs between 1500 B.C and 1440 B.C., that of Rekhmara certainly not being earlier than 1495 B.C. The picture of the Keftians on his tomb must be not earlier than 1495 B.C., and probably not earlier than 1445 B.C. The grand Palace Style was therefore still in full force at this epoch But Professor Burrows rightly points out that it would be rash to take 1450 B.C. as the lowest limit for the destruction of the Palace of Cnossus. It is argued that the 'Mycenaean'

[1] H. R. Hall, *Brit. Sch. Ann*, VIII, pp. 162–7; X, pp 154–7

[2] Dawkins, *Brit. Sch Ann*, X, p. 212, H. R Hall, ibid., vol VIII, p. 171, Fig. 2, X, pp. 154, 156, Figs 1, 2; Burrows, op. cit, p. 94.

pottery found at Tel-el-Amarna, which belongs to the reign of Amenhotep III (1414 B.C. or 1411 B.C. to 1383 B.C. or 1380 B.C.) and his successor Akhenaten, which belongs therefore to the first half of the fourteenth century (1400 B.C. 1350), shows a marked inferiority to that of Late Minoan II, and accordingly it is urged that an interval must be left for decadence. To this Professor Burrows[1] replies that 'if we agree that the sack of Knossos occurred rather before than after 1400 B.C., we have allowed ample time', and he concludes from these general considerations 'that the great Palace period probably closed before the reign of Amenhotep III had far advanced from its beginning in 1414 or 1411, and certainly closed before Akhenaten came to the throne in 1383 B.C. or 1380 B.C.' This conclusion is really not at variance with that of Dr Evans[2] himself—that the Palace period 'can hardly be brought down later than the close of the fifteenth century'

To all the eight periods which succeed the Neolithic deposit Dr. Evans has given the name *Minoan*, as well as to the succeeding epoch, 'Late Minoan III.' Yet there is not the slightest evidence, as we shall soon see, for the existence of a personage named Minos at Cnossus or elsewhere until about 1400 B.C., that is at the close of 'Late Minoan II' and the beginning of 'Late Minoan III'. It is therefore very unhistorical to apply the term *Minoan* to periods which, according to Dr Evans, go back several thousand years before 'Late Minoan III'. We might just as well apply the term *Victorian* to all English history from the beginning of the Bronze Age down to the present day, describing the period from the end of the Stone Age down to the Norman Conquest as 'Early Victorian', with several subdivisions, the Bronze Age being 'Early Victorian I', the Early Iron Age and Roman period 'Early Victorian II', and the Saxon period 'Early Victorian III', 'Middle Victorian' would cover the period from the Conquest to Elizabeth, with appropriate subdivisions, whilst 'Late Victorian', with its subdivisions, would comprise the period from Elizabeth to the present time.

Again, though the name of Priam may well be associated with the Sixth City at Troy, no one would dream of describing the earlier strata at Troy as 'Priamean I', 'Priamean II', &c., whilst it would be just as unscientific to apply the term '*Proetean* I', II, or III, &c., to the various strata lately brought to light by the German excavations at Tiryns, because we know from tradition that Proetus was a powerful chieftain at Tiryns towards the close of the Bronze Age. Dr. Evans, in giving the name *Minoan* to the culture revealed at

[1] Op. cit., p 95. [2] *Preh. Tombs*, p. 131.

Cnossus and elsewhere in Crete in consequence of the close relations between Minos and Cnossus in Greek legend, has committed the same mistake as that made by Dr Schliemann in assigning to the Homeric period the Bronze Age culture which he found at Mycenae, because in Greek story Agamemnon was the grand name associated with Mycenae. Fortunately, however, Schliemann did not term the culture which he first unveiled *Agamemnonian*, but was content to term it *Mycenaean*, from the name of the site. It is, therefore, to be hoped that Dr Evans will eventually adopt *Cnossian*, and abandon *Minoan*. By the use of a topographical rather than a personal term we may speak of 'Early Cnossus' (or Cnossian), 'Middle Cnossus', and 'Late Cnossus', just as we now do of 'Troy I', II, III, &c, and 'Phylakopi I', II, III.

Late Minoan III. The destruction of Cnossus, and not improbably of Phaestus and Hagia Triada also at the same time, and the change to a new culture, a change not merely temporary but permanent, which characterizes Late Minoan III, point unequivocally to some political upheaval of more than ordinary importance. It is difficult to conceive that the great lord of the splendid palace at Cnossus in Late Minoan II had been overthrown merely by some petty revolt or combination of his vassal cities. Such a mishap would not have altered for ever the essential character of the culture not only at Cnossus but practically all over Crete. The sack of Cnossus at this epoch left indelible marks, for it heralds the advent of the Early Iron Age, and with iron the coming of the other typical features of that culture which had made its way down into Greece from Central Europe. These comprise the style of decoration known as Geometric, the use of brooches for fastening the garments, the round shield, and the practice of cremating the dead. Was there any great potentate whose shadowy form still looms large in written tradition and whose name and fame still echo down the long aisles of time who might have been the cause of this great political upheaval? But it is not enough merely to find a great name, for in order to solve our riddle the date when such a person flourished must synchronize with the period within which falls the sack of Cnossus, that is, some time a little before 1400 B C. Moreover, in view of the revolution effected in the culture not only of Cnossus, but of all Crete, such a conqueror ought to have come from some foreign land, and not have been merely a native prince, for if the conqueror had himself been a Cretan, there would have been no reason for the transition to an essentially new form of culture.

Let us turn to Minos, the very monarch whose name has been

given to all the eight periods which preceded the sack of the great Palace. The Parian Chronicle[1] gives two sovereigns of this name, as also do Diodorus[2] and Plutarch.[3] According to the Chronicle Minos I flourished 1406 B.C. He was the son of Zeus and Europa, and he married Ithonae, by whom he had a son Lycastes, who by one account was the father of Minos II. Minos II married Pasiphae, daughter of Helius and Perseis, by whom he had Glaucus, Deucalion, Phaedra, and Ariadne. Daedalus the Athenian artist worked for him at Cnossus, and when he fled to Sicily Minos pursued him and was himself killed there by Cocalus or the daughter of that king thirty-five years before the Trojan war. But we naturally turn to the Homeric poems for the oldest traditions respecting the name of Minos. If I am not mistaken, we shall find here also distinct evidence for two kings of the same name. In *Iliad*, xiv. 321-2 Zeus recounts how he 'loved Europa, the famed daughter of Phoenix, who bore me Minos and godlike Radamanthus'. This is plainly Minos I of the Parian Chronicle. But there are also very clear allusions to Minos II. Thus in *Od.* xi. 322 Minos is mentioned as father of Phaedra and Ariadne, and he is termed 'baleful-hearted' (ὀλοόφρων), whilst the same Minos is indirectly referred to in *Il.* xviii. 592, where we are told that Daedalus made a dancing-place (χορός) for Ariadne at Cnossus. But we hear most of him from the well-known passage, *Od.* xix. 169, where the disguised Odysseus tells his feigned history to Penelope.

He gives us there that account of the early ethnology of Crete which is of such great importance. 'A fair land and rich, begirt with water, and therein are many men innumerable, and ninety cities. And all have not the same speech, but there is a mixed tongue. There dwell Achaeans, and there too true Cretans and Cydonians, and Dorians and divine Pelasgians. Among these cities is the mighty city Cnossus, wherein Minos, when he was nine years old, began to reign, he who held converse with great Zeus, and was the father of my father, even of Deucalion; Deucalion begat me and Idomeneus the prince. Howbeit he had gone in his ships up into Ilios with the sons of Atreus, but my famed name is Aethon, being the younger of the twain, and he was the first-born and the better man. He told thus many a false tale in the guise of truth.' But feigned though the story was, the geographical and ethnological evidence is sound.

The Minos here mentioned cannot be Minos I of the Parian Chronicle. For (1) he is represented as having lived but a short time before the Trojan War, as his grandson Idomeneus took part in it,

[1] ii. 19, F. Jacoby (1904). [2] iv. 60. [3] *Theseus*, 18.

and accordingly he is the Minos II who is said to have lived thirty-five years before the Trojan War, i. e. about 1229 B. C. (2) He is not described in the Odyssey as the *son* of Zeus, as he would most likely have been had he been so regarded by the poet, but simply as he that held converse with Zeus. This again shows that he is not Minos I, son of Zeus and Europa. On the other hand, he is described in the pedigree put into the mouth of Idomeneus in the *Iliad*[1] as the son of Zeus. This shows that there was another version of the story, in which he was said to be not merely the friend but also the son of Zeus, as was his great ancestor and namesake. Similarly, in one version Theseus is the son of Aegeus, a descendant of Poseidon, in another he is made to be the actual son of that god. (3) As Homer knows the story of Theseus carrying off Ariadne, and as the later legend makes Theseus, husband of Phaedra, another daughter of Minos, the Minos of this passage, father of Deucalion, must be the Minos II, for Theseus is always regarded as living in the generation before the Trojan War. Minos II is therefore that Minos who in *Od.* xi. 221-2 is described as father of Phaedra and Ariadne, and moreover termed the 'baleful-hearted'.

But this Minos of evil repute cannot have been he who for his great justice was made judge of the departed. Moreover, the latter is termed in the *Odyssey* 'the glorious son of Zeus', whereas the *Odyssey*, as we have just seen, regards Minos, 'the baleful-hearted,' not so much as the actual offspring, but as the privileged friend of Zeus. It was then Minos I that Odysseus saw in the land of the departed in the West by the Ocean stream dealing forth sentence to the dead. 'There saw I Minos, glorious son of Zeus, wielding a golden sceptre, giving sentence from his throne to the dead, while they sat and stood around the prince, asking his doom through the wide-gated house of Hades.'[2]

Thus, then, the Homeric poems completely confirm the Parian Chronicle, and the statements of Diodorus and Plutarch, by giving us two kings called Minos.

As this Minos comes nearer to the Classical period than Minos I, there was a tendency to ascribe to a single Minos the great thalassocracy, the earliest of which the Greeks had any tradition. Thus Herodotus makes but a single Minos, combining the parentage of Minos I with the history and death of Minos II. He writes 'Polycrates of Samos was the first of the Greeks of whom we know except Minos the Cnossian, and any one else who reigned before him who aimed at a thalassocracy.'[3] But this Minos he holds to be the son

[1] *Il.* xiii. 449 [2] *Od* xi. 568 sqq. [3] iii 122.

of Europa, for he again writes 'when the sons of Europa strove for the sovereignty of Crete Sarpedon and Minos got the better, and Sarpedon departed with settlers who became the Lycians on the mainland.'[1] Again, when treating of the Carians he says that 'in ancient times being subjects of Minos and being called Leleges they held the islands not paying any tribute, as far as I can get back in tradition, but they used to man his ships whenever Minos required them, but inasmuch as Minos reduced a great extent of territory the Carians at the same time became a most warlike people'.[2] Finally, he briefly gives us the story of the death of Minos, telling us that he made an expedition to Sicily in search of Daedalus and there met a violent death.[3]

Thucydides likewise thinks only of a single Minos. 'Minos is the most ancient personage of whom we have knowledge who acquired a navy. He made himself master of a very large part of what is now the Hellenic Sea, and he both ruled over the Cyclades and became the oecist of most of them by driving out the Carians and by setting up in them his own sons as chieftains, and he cleared the sea from piracy in order that his revenues might come in the more freely'.[4] In another familiar passage he states that the island population, who were Carians and Phoenicians, were especially addicted to piracy, for these had settled most of the islands, and he proceeds to make the earliest application of archaeology to history by giving as a proof of his statement that when in the course of the Peloponnesian War the Athenians (425 B. C.) 'carried out the purification of Delos by the removal of those there buried, more than half the interments proved to be Carian, as was clear from the fashion of the arms and because the method of burial was the same as that then being practised by the Carians on the mainland'. But when Minos established his navy navigation became more secure, for he removed the miscreants from the islands when he was engaged in settling them himself.[5] At first sight there seems to be some contradiction between Herodotus and Thucydides respecting the Carians, as the former represents Minos as employing them for his navy, whilst Thucydides represents the king as banishing them from the islands. But a closer examination of the words of Thucydides shows that there is no discrepancy between the two statements. The later historian states that Minos drove out the miscreants (κακοῦργοι) and made his own sons the chiefs of the islands. This clearly means that he did not sweep out the population but only their leading men, and that his own sons

[1] i. 173. [2] i. 171. [3] vii. 169. [4] i. 4 [5] i. 8

took the place of the banished Carian chiefs who led their people on piratical expeditions.

The literary tradition for two kings or a king called Minos is thoroughly confirmed by the place-names of the Aegean. The name Minoa is found all over the area once dominated by the fleets of the kings of Cnossus. There are not only two towns of this name in Crete, but there is one in Siphnos and another in Amorgus, such, too, was the old name of Paros, whilst down to the end of the classical period it was the name of the small island off Megara from which king Minos carried on his siege operations against that town. There was also a place called Minoa in Corcyra, and another place of the same name in Laconia, whilst by tradition Gaza on the coast of Palestine had once been called Minoa, a fact of special significance when we remember the connexion of Minos I with that region. Not only then do these places confirm the statements of the historians, but their existence naturally led the later Greeks to think only of a single Minos as the founder of these towns and of the first great thalassocracy. One thing, however, comes out clearly in the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides that the people who furnished the great navy that spread far and wide the dominion of the chief of Cnossus were not called 'Minoans', but were the Carians, who, in classical times, still held in their grasp certain parts of the coast of Asia Minor, and were famous as brave and daring soldiers and sailors, serving as mercenaries with the kings of Egypt. Let us by all means act upon the exhortation of Professors Myers and Burrows and 'clear the air'—not of Achaeans but of Minoans

Next arises the question, to what race did these kings called Minos belong? Professor Burrows speaks unhesitatingly of the 'Minoan house with its blend of Pelasgian, Phoenician, and Doric elements'. Let us test this statement by the actual literary evidence.[1]

The Achaeans in Crete. The Homeric poems make it clear that in the Early Iron Age Cnossus was occupied by a great chief called Idomeneus. He was no mere luxurious sultan, but one of the bravest of those that went to Troy. He took a leading part in the many battles before that city. He was the intimate friend of Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Odysseus, and took his place in the council of chieftains. He is termed 'a match for Ares', and had in his tent many spears taken from the Trojans whom he had slain. Like all the great Achaean princes he is descended from Zeus, as is shown by his pedigree recited by himself.[2] In it Zeus is said to have begotten Minos, father of Deucalion, the father of Idomeneus. But the most

[1] Op cit., p. 43. [2] xiii. 449.

important passage for our purpose is that in the Catalogue of the Ships[1] where the Cretan contingents are enumerated.

'Of the Cretans Idomeneus the famous spearman was leader, even of them that possessed Cnossus and Gortys of the great walls, Lyctus and Miletus, and chalky Lycastus and Phaestus, and Rhytion, established cities all, and of all others that dwell in Crete of the hundred cities. Of these men was Idomeneus the famous spearman leader, and Meriones, peer of the man-slaying war-god. With these followed eighty black ships.'

There are several points of special interest in these lines. (1) Idomeneus is lord of Cnossus, which comes first in the recital, indicating that it was the leading state in Crete at this time. (2) He also has apparently under his direct rule Phaestus, where are the ruins of the great palace, which is thought to have been destroyed at the same time as the great palace at Cnossus of the Late Minoan II period. (3) He also rules over Miletus and Lyctus. At the former and at Erganus, near the latter, tombs with contents showing the transition from the Bronze to the Early Iron Age have already been found. But to this we shall return later.

In the recital of the five different races which were in Crete (*Od.* xix. 169 sqq.) the Achaeans are placed first, which we may take as an indication that they were the dominant element. But as Idomeneus is the leader of all that came from Crete, and is reckoned as a leading Achaean chief, and as his capital is Cnossus, it is certain that in Homeric days Cnossus, Gortys, Phaestus, Miletus, Lyctus, and various other cities were in the hands of the Achaeans, and that the latter were the overlords of the entire island.

There can now be no doubt that Idomeneus was an Achaean, but if he was such, his father Deucalion and his grandfather Minos must have been Achaeans also. Now as one of the chief physical characteristics of the Achaeans of Homer was their long-flowing yellow hair, our belief in the Achaean origin of the family of Minos would be completely confirmed if there was any evidence that the race was blonde.

But Homer at once supplies us with this. Idomeneus himself is described as μεσαιπόλιος, which is commonly taken as meaning 'turning grey'. But it may very well mean that he was 'rather fair', since πολιός is the word applied by the Greeks to the flaxen-coloured hair of the children of the Celts. But all doubt is removed by the fact that Rhadamanthus, the brother of Minos I, is twice termed 'yellow-haired' (ξανθός) in the poems.[2] It is moreover worthy of remark that

[1] *Il.* ii. 64 sqq. [2] *Od.* iv. 564; vii. 323.

Deucalion, the father of Idomeneus and the son of Minos II, bears the great name of Deucalion of Thessaly, the legendary father of Hellen and the Hellenes

The traditional evidence has shown us that in the thirteenth century B.C. Cnossus, Phaestus, Gortys, Miletus, and Lyctus were in the hands of the Achaeans, and that they were the lords of the whole island. But of course those who wish 'to rid the air of Achaeans' may deny that there is any real evidence for the presence of that people at so early a date in the Aegean But just here comes in the very important evidence of the famous Egyptian inscription set up by King Merenptah, the son of Rameses III He succeeded his father in B C 1234 and reigned till about B.C 1214. In the fifth year of his reign came the great invasion of the Libyans and their allies, comprising Akaiuasha, Thuirsha, Luku, Shardena, and Shakalsha. Akaiuasha has long been recognized as the Egyptian form of the name *Achaean*, and the Leku (Luku) as the Lycians.[1] But as Professor Burrows and Professor Myres are both firm believers in the identification of the Akaiuasha of the Egyptian inscription with the *Achaioi*, and as that is the name of the large fair-haired men whose glories are sung in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, there can be no doubt that there were Achaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean, if not in Crete, by at least the thirteenth century B.C. Now as the Akaiuasha took part in the invasion made by the Libyans (Lebu) into Egypt from the west, there is no more likely place from which they would pass over to join the Libyans than Crete itself But have we any early evidence for any such descents being made from Crete upon Egypt and by people termed Achaeans? Once more a remarkable passage in the *Odyssey* comes to our aid, and again it is a tale told by the disguised Odysseus.[2] He has reached Ithaca and found a kindly welcome in the bothy of his faithful swineherd Eumaeus, who does not recognize his master in the broken-down old wanderer seated by his hearth. He asks the vagrant who he is and whence, and thereupon Odysseus, feeling that the time has not yet come to reveal himself, tells him a feigned tale. He avows that 'in lineage he comes from wide Crete, and that he is the bastard son of a wealthy man, Hylax, who honoured the concubine's son no less than his brothers born in wedlock. When his father died, the lawfully-born sons divided the substance and gave him the bastard's portion, a very small gift and a dwelling. But he wedded by reason of his valour the daughter of men of many acres.

[1] Flinders Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. iii, pp 108-10.

[2] *Od.* xiv. 200 sqq.

For he was no weakling or dastard, and he became a great leader in war. But the labour of the field he never loved, nor home-keeping thrift that breeds brave children, but ever loved galleys with their oars, and wars and polished shafts and darts. Ere ever the sons of the Achaeans had set foot on Troy land he had nine times been a leader of men and of swift-faring ships against a strange people, and wealth had fallen ever into his hands. Thus he waxed dread and honourable among the Cretans. Then when the Achaeans fared to Troy, 'The people called on him and on Idomeneus to lead the ships to Ilios. There we sons of the Achaeans warred for nine whole years, and in the tenth year we sacked the city of Priam and departed homeward with our ships and the gods scattered the Achaeans. But Zeus the counsellor devised mischief against me, wretched man that I was! For one month only I abode and had joy of my children and of my gentle wife and all that I had, and thereafter my spirit bade me fit out ships in the best manner and sail to Egypt with my godlike company. Nine ships I fitted out and the host was gathered quickly. And then for six days my dear company feasted, and I gave them many victims that they might sacrifice to the gods and prepare a feast for themselves. But on the seventh day we set sail from wide Crete with a north wind fresh and fair, and lightly we ran as it were down stream, yea, and no harm came to any ship of mine, but we sat safe and hale while the wind and the pilots guided the barks. And on the fifth day we came to the fair-flowing Egyptus, and in the river Egyptus I stayed my curved ships. Then I bade my dear comrades to abide there by the ships and to guard them, and I set forth to range the points of outlook. But my men gave place to wantonness, being the fools of their own force, and soon they fell to wasting the fields of the Egyptians exceeding fair, and led away their wives and infant children and slew the men. And the cry came quickly to the city, and the people, hearing the shout, came forth at the breaking of day and all the plain was filled with footmen and horsemen and with the glitter of bronze. And Zeus, whose joy is in the thunder, sent an evil panic upon my company, and none durst stand and face the foe, for anger encompassed us on every side. There they slew many of us with the edge of the sword, and others they led up with them alive to work for them perforce. But as for me, Zeus himself put a thought into my heart; would to God that I had rather died and met my fate there in Egypt, for sorrow was still mine host! Straightway I put off my well-wrought helmet from my head, and the shield from off my shoulder, and I cast away my spear from my hands, and I came over against the horses of the

king, and clasped and kissed his knees, and he saved me and delivered me, and setting me on his own chariot, took me weeping to his home Truly many a one made at me with their ashen spears, eager to slay me, for verily they were sore angered. But the king kept them off and had respect unto the wrath of Zeus, the god of strangers, who chiefly hath displeasure at evil deeds. So for seven whole years I abode with their king and gathered much substance amongst the Egyptians, for they all gave me gifts. But when the eighth year came in due season there arrived a Phoenician practised in deceit, a greedy knave, who had already done much mischief among men He wrought on me with his cunning and took me with him until he came to Phoenicia, where was his house, and where his treasures lay There I abode with him for the space of a full year. But when now the months and days were fulfilled, as the year came round and the season returned, he set me aboard a seafaring ship for Libya on a false pretence, forsooth that I was to convey a cargo with him, but his purpose was to sell me in Lybia, and get a great price'

There can now be no reasonable doubt that in the Early Iron Age not only were these Achaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean, as is shown by the inscription of Merenptah, but that the Achaeans were the lords of Crete, and that from it they regularly made descents upon Egypt.

But there is a further piece of evidence derived from literary tradition which is of great importance. I have pointed out elsewhere that the descent of chieftain houses from some particular god, such as that of the great Teutonic royal families from Odin and Thor, has a most weighty ethnological significance. All the great Achaean chieftains of Homer trace their descent from Zeus, whilst on the other hand the great families of the pre-Achaean period derive theirs from Poseidon, as did also the Phaeacians and the Cyclopes. It is therefore of great import that not only is Minos I, who was renowned for his justice, a son of Zeus, but that the wicked Minos II, who was the grandfather of Idomeneus, was, if not a son of Zeus, at least a descendant from that god and was said to have held converse with him. But there is much more in traditions garnered up by the mythographers and genealogists. The whole of the misfortunes which befell Minos II and his family are ascribed to his impiety in setting aside the worship of Poseidon, who, as we are told by Diodorus, was a great ancient Cretan hero-king. To him through the long ages bulls had annually been sacrificed, but Minos II upset the ancient order of things and offered to his own ancestor or father, Zeus, the bull which by immemorial custom was the due of

Poseidon The Cretan god in wrath sent a fierce bull which wrought such havoc in Crete that its subjugation became one of the Labours of Heracles. Yet Poseidon wreaked a far worse vengeance upon Minos by instilling into his wife Pasiphae an unnatural passion for a bull, the fruit of which was the Minotaur These legends point indubitably to a deep-seated feeling of resentment amongst the native Cretans against a great and powerful king of a foreign race who had introduced a new god and rendered to him the sacrifices which ancient usage had ordained for the great Cretan divinity

There is then good literary proof for Minos being Achaean in origin, but where is there a scintilla of evidence for Professor Burrows's allegation that he was Dorian in pedigree?

There can be no question of the strength of the evidence derived from the literary and inscriptional sources If we could but bring material witness to show that by at least the thirteenth century before Christ a new culture had entered Crete, and that it was overlapping and permeating that of the previous Bronze Age, we should have gone far to substantiate the traditional statements Furthermore, if we could show that this invading culture of Crete is similar to that which is found in Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, where tradition says that the Achaeans became the master race by at least 1300 B C., and that this culture is identical with that ascribed to the Achaeans in the Homeric poems, our argument would be complete, and there would be no longer any doubt that the people who introduced the new culture into Crete immediately on the fall of the great Cnossian palace of 'Late Minoan II' were the Achaeans of Homer, the Akaiuasha of the inscription of Merenptah. I pointed out in my *Early Age of Greece* (p. 97) that all tradition—Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Ephorus (cited by Strabo), &c.—was unanimous in holding that the Achaeans of the Homeric poems had only become masters of Peloponnesus about two generations before the Trojan war, the traditional date of which is 1194–1184 B. C. But the Achaeans of Phthiotis who came with Pelops were not the first Achaeans who had made their appearance in that region. There is a statement handed down by Pausanias [1] that in the time of Danaus (*circa* 1400 B. C.), Archandros and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, came from Thessaly into Peloponnesus and married daughters of Danaus. They acquired great influence at Argos and Sparta, and gave the people the name of Achaeans. This seems to be an old tradition, since Herodotus [2] mentions Archandros and Architeles, sons of Phthius and grandsons of Achaeus, who married daughters of Danaus.

[1] ii 6, 5

[2] ii. 98.

Strabo, following Ephorus, says that 'the Achaean Phthiotae, who with Pelops made an irruption into Peloponnesus, settled in Laconia, and were so much distinguished for their valour that Peloponnesus, which for a long period up to this time had the name of Argos, was called Achaean Argos, and not Peloponnesus only, but Laconia also was thus peculiarly designated. From Laconia the Achaeans were driven out by the Dorians, and went and settled in what was known as Achaia properly so called, expelling the Ionians therefrom'[1]

If the sceptic points with derision to the wide difference between the story of Herodotus and Pausanias and that told by Strabo, our answer is that such different stories of the first coming of the Achaeans are by no means incompatible with historical truth Who can tell when the Saxons first entered England? One version represents Hengist and Horsa as coming in to aid the British king, Vortigern, against the Picts and Scots, and settling in the south of England, but on the other hand it is not at all improbable that the earliest Saxon settlements were in Northumberland Who can tell whether the Danes who settled in Ireland first got their footing at Dublin or Waterford? The fact is that when the tide of colonizing and conquest begins to flow, different bodies of invaders make their appearance, almost simultaneously in some cases, at different points; sometimes small parties of men seeking new homes pave the way, such as Archandros and Architeles of the Achaean legend, to be followed later on by far larger bodies of population.

The incoming of valiant strangers who marry the daughters of the old kingly houses is no mere figment of the Greek legend-mongers History is full of such. Strongbow the Norman aided Dermot MacMorogh, and married his daughter Eva, and in more modern days Rolfe married the Indian princess Pocahontas, from whom the best families in Virginia are proud to trace their descent.

I showed that the Achaean chiefs had commonly married the heiresses of the Bronze Age dynasties. Pelops had wedded Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus, and Menelaus Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, the last king of the ancient house of Sparta. Thus Menelaus occupied the splendid palace described in Homer in virtue of this marriage, whilst Atreus had quietly obtained through his alliance with the ancient house of Mycenae the kingship of Argolis on the death of Eurysteus. There was therefore no clean sweep of the old population. On the contrary, the great mass remained unchanged, retaining their old habits, language, armature, and arts, the ruling class alone being Achaeans.

[1] p. 365.

I also showed that the culture of the Homeric Achaeans differed essentially in every particular from that of the older race of Greece, as seen in the Shaft graves of Mycenae at Tiryns, Phylakopi, and elsewhere; I further pointed out that their culture coincided with that of the Early Iron Age of Central Europe, and by a long series of inductions I proved that the round shield, the use of iron, the invention and use of the brooch, the practice of burning the dead, and the style of ornament called Geometric, had passed down into Greece from Central Europe, and not upward from Greece into Central Europe, as had up to that time been universally held. Furthermore, the physical appearance of the Achaeans—tall men with long, fair hair—was a characteristic only found in Aegean lands in the case of those who had come down from northern regions. But I was careful to point out that since the Achaeans formed only a ruling caste, and the great mass of the population remained unchanged, they continued to use their own customs, dress, and armature, and to practise their old arts, though now at the bidding and under the influence of their new lords. I made it a main principle that when a new culture with the use of a new metal for cutting implements appears, those made of the old metal do not at once disappear, and that consequently there is a long period of overlap and transition.

Speaking of the Homeric poems, I wrote[1]: 'Of course, we naturally hear much of bronze armour, and of various other objects made of that metal. But it does not follow that with the introduction of iron for cutting implements and the purposes of the plough and herdsman bronze disappears from use, any more than it follows that as soon as copper and bronze began to be employed weapons and implements of stone and flint at once ceased to be made or used. Stone has survived for various purposes, such as millstones, pestles and mortars, and there is evidence to show that axes of stone were employed side by side with those of bronze. For instance, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy there are stone axes which undoubtedly exhibit in the shape of their faces the influence of those made of metal. In all ages the poor man, who cannot afford to procure an article of the best and most costly material, must content himself with the inferior, and long after the discovery of copper and the making of bronze, those who could not afford weapons of that metal had to put up with those of stone. It would be unnecessary to call attention to so obvious a fact, were it not that this cataclysmic archaeology is both very widespread and deeply rooted.

Again, I wrote[2]: 'What we have already remarked on the over-

[1] *Early Age*, p. 295. [2] Ibid. p. 304.

lapping of the Bronze and Iron Ages applies to the facts connected with the history of the early Greek sword. None of the swords found in the Acropolis graves at Mycenae have entire bronze hilts, but they are generally of wood, bone, or ivory, ending in a pommel of the same material, often mounted with gold or alabaster . . The latest Mycenaean swords are comparatively short, with a hilt differing but little from the earlier type, save in respect of the guard, which is occasionally found. Iron swords of the same type are met with in parts of Greece, showing that the fashion outlasted the Mycenaean Ages. To this transition type we shall return later on.

'That iron and bronze swords of the same form were in use at the same time is shown thus by the actual remains found, this harmonizes completely with the evidence of Homer, where we learn that Euryalus, the Phaeacian, presented to Odysseus a bronze sword, though, as we have seen, the usual material for all such weapons is iron. But the Phaeacians belonged to the older race and lived in a remote island, and therefore swords of bronze may well have continued in use in such out-of-the-world places long after iron swords were in use elsewhere in Greece. The man who could not afford iron had to be satisfied with bronze.'[1]

In my section on the *Shield* I wrote as follows: 'As we have seen, it is quite possible that shields of the older pattern (the figure of 8 and rectangular) continued in use in Achaean times. There is also a late tradition that Proetus and Acrisius were the first to introduce the *clipeus* into Argolis. Whatever may be the value of either of these statements we can at least infer from them that there was a general feeling that the round shield was not indigenous but that it had been introduced or invented in the close of the Mycenaean period.' It is perhaps significant that in the chief passage in the *Iliad* where the great shield which extended from the neck to the ankles is mentioned, it is Periphetes the *Mycenaean* who stumbles over his own great clumsy shield and is immediately pinned to the earth by the spear of Hector.

It would seem that Periphetes, one of the native Mycenaeans, and not an Achaean, still wore the ancient shield of his race. In a short

[1] The reader will hardly believe that in the face of this passage, with which Professor Burrows was well acquainted, as he refers to this very page of my book and had a correspondence with me about it (see Burrows's *Discoveries in Crete*, p 174 footnote), he had the effrontery to charge me with holding that 'the Homeric swords and spears . . . were all of iron' (*Discoveries in Crete*, p 214), and he proceeds triumphantly to confute me by citing the evidence of the overlapping of iron and bronze swords furnished by the graves of East Crete (since my book had appeared) in complete confirmation of my views.

time we shall see that in Pelasgic Arcadia the old Mycenean armature remained in vogue until the second century B.C. Nor need we wonder if some of the native Argives in the host led by the Achaeans should have been equipped with their own national weapons, armour, and shield. It takes some time for such changes to come about, and often a considerable period may elapse before all classes can afford to arm themselves with the newer and better panoply. In the late Chino-Japanese war men armed with bows and arrows were serving in the Chinese army at the same time as others furnished with the most modern magazine rifles.'[1]

FIG 1. THE WARRIOR VASE; MYCENAE.

So in Homer, though the Achaean warrior regularly carries a round shield with a boss, whereas the Bronze Age shield of Greece was either of figure of 8 or of rectangular form, yet there are one or two instances in the *Iliad* where warriors certainly have oblong shields of great length. Naturally the older race who had become the vassals of the Achaeans and accompanied them to war used their own style of armature.

In the case of certain objects of pottery found in the upper strata of Mycenae and Tiryns I was able to point also to evidence of the transition period.[2] The famous Warrior vase (fig. 1) gives us a picture

[1] pp. 319-21. [2] p. 315.

of warriors in the true Homeric equipment, round shields with bosses, long spears, crested helmets, greaves, and fringed chitons seen protruding from under their shirts of mail

Warriors equipped in a similar fashion have been discovered on a stele (fig 2) found in recent years outside the Acropolis of Mycenae, not in its original position, but serving with other stones to wall up a grave hewn in the side of a circular sepulchral chamber.
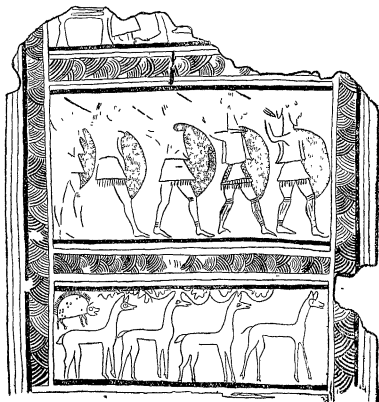
Fig. 2. The Painted Stele; Mycenae.

Originally it was a sculptured tombstone of the Mycenaean type, it was afterwards plastered over and painted in fresco. Finally at Tiryns, besides the Mycenaean and Dipylon vases, there were discovered some fragments of a style of pottery up till then not found elsewhere. They represent the transition between the Mycenaean and the Dipylon vases. These also show warriors with round shields.

But this overlap of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages is not confined to the mainland of Greece. Just before the publication of my

Early Age of Greece, vol. i, 1901, Miss Harriet Boyd (Mrs. Hawes) had discovered at Gournia a series of remains of great importance. They consisted of geometric vases, brooches, and iron swords of the Hallstatt type, and since then Crete has furnished ample evidence of the same character. In East Crete both bronze and iron swords have been found in the same tomb, thus demonstrating the very transitional period which I had inferred from the Homeric poems and the evidence from Mycenae and Tiryns just cited.

But this is not all. In July, 1909, Dr. Evans announced in the *Times* that he had found at Cnossus tombs containing geometric pottery, brooches, iron weapons, and cremation burials—in other words, all the characteristics of the Homeric Achaean. In his letter, however, he seemed to refer his discoveries to the Dorians, who had settled in Crete some time later than 1000 B. C. In my essay, 'Who were the Dorians?'[1] I pointed out that amongst the many features which separate clearly the Dorians of the classical times ethnically from the Achaeans of Homer, and render it impossible to regard as Dorians the warriors described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, not the least in importance was the method of disposing of the dead. We have the very best evidence from ancient authorities that so far from the Dorians ever burning their dead, from first to last they always inhumed them, even under circumstances that imperatively demanded cremation. Thus, for instance, when king Agesilaus died far from home and his men had not sufficient honey in which to preserve his body for transport to Sparta, they did not resort to burning, which would have put an end to their difficulty, as the ashes could have been brought home in a vase, but they did what they could to preserve the body by melting wax over it.

Dr. Mackenzie, in ignorance of these most important facts respecting the Dorians, has also too hastily concluded that the cremation burials found at Cnossus are those of Dorian colonists.

Let us sum up the results of our investigations. The archaeological evidence shows clearly that the development of the Stone and Bronze Age culture of Crete was a long and gradual process, that in its early stages it was later in development than Melos, and that it was influenced in its fuller time by Egypt and Melos. Various stages in its evolution can be traced at Cnossus, Phaestus, Palaikastro, Praesus, Vasilike, and other places. The chronology of what is termed the 'Late Minoan' period can be fixed with considerable accuracy from a comparison of its monuments with those of Egypt, and finally the destruction of Cnossus at the end of 'Late Minoan II'

[1] *Anthropological Essays in Honour of Prof. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907).

can be placed from monumental evidence somewhere not long before 1400 B.C., and this date is assigned not by me, but by Dr. Evans himself, and others who have made a special study of the evidence.

The destruction which at this time befell Cnossus, and probably Phaestus and Hagia Triada, was not like those catastrophes which had ended other periods in its history, for this last heralded the incoming of a new phase of culture. But at this very date the traditional chronology places the advent from Palestine of Minos, son of Zeus and Europa, whose name has left such an indelible impress on the Greek mind. A great kingdom was set up by him and he got the command of the Aegean with his navy. This thalassocracy was continued and widened under his descendant and namesake Minos II, who made expeditions far and wide, and in one of these met his death in Sicily about 1219 B.C. But it is just at this very time that, according to the Homeric tradition, the Achaeans are settled in Cnossus and are making descents upon Egypt, whilst an Egyptian inscription of the reign of Merenptah (1234–1214 B.C.) states that in the fifth year of that monarch Egypt was invaded by a combination of various peoples, amongst whom were the Akaiuasha, a name long identified with the Greek *Achaioi*. Now as it was just at this very time that, according to the traditional chronology, Minos II was harrying the coasts of the Aegean and making expeditions in all directions, it is not improbable that the invasion of Egypt in 1229 B.C. was one of his enterprises.

According to Homer, this Minos II who perished in 1219 B.C. was the grandfather of Idomeneus, the great Achaean chief whose capital was Cnossus and who led not only the men of Phaestus, but the entire Cretan contingent to Troy. In other words he was the paramount chief of Crete. But this is not the only evidence that the family of Minos was Achaean. Corroboration is at hand in the statement twice repeated that Radamanthus, the brother of Minos I, was 'yellow-haired', also in the fact that the house of Minos traced its descent from Zeus (as do all the Achaean chiefs in Homer), and that Minos introduced into Cnossus and probably into all Crete the worship of that god, thereby incurring the wrath of Poseidon, the great indigenous divinity.

Minos I had passed into Crete from Palestine at the close of the fifteenth century B.C. But it may be asked, why would a fair-haired Achaean have come to Crete from such a region? In my *Early Age of Greece*, vol i, I pointed out that in the time of Saul and David (*circa* 900 B.C.) there were in Palestine uncircumcised men of large stature called Philistines whose armature, as in the case of Goliath,

is very like that of the Homeric Achaeans, and that, still earlier, in the fourteenth century B.C. there were also men of great stature in the same region who were using chariots fitted with iron. Their objection to circumcision, as also their large stature, proves that they were not Semites, whilst the last feature, as well as the use of iron and the character of their weapons, points to a European origin.

It is not without significance that the great advance from Palestine made upon Egypt by the Kheta or Hittites in the fourteenth century B.C. took place shortly after the very time when Minos I is said to have crossed into Crete from Palestine It may well be therefore that Minos I was one of the tall fair-haired northern invaders who had made their way into Palestine either from Greece and Crete, or had come *round* across the Hellespont and so into Syria The excavations at Gezer and elsewhere in Palestine show a connexion between that country and Crete, though it is not yet clear which way the influence spread The story of Pelops shows that some of the Achaeans had passed into Asia Minor, and that a portion of these had later swung back into Europe and down into Greece So with the Gauls in later centuries, some of them passed across into Asia Minor and advanced as far as Syria with the intention of making their way into Egypt, but were deterred by the envoys of Ptolemy, others of them settled in that region later known from them as Galatia, others again passed back across the Hellespont and settled in Thrace; whilst yet others passed down directly into Greece. Minos I, therefore, may well have been one of these northern invaders who had crossed into Asia, and who from that side entered the Aegean. It is worth pointing out that his traditional date coincides exactly with that assigned to the first appearance of the Achaeans in Argolis in the persons of Archandros and Architeles (*circa* 1400 B.C.).

A dispassionate survey of the evidence will convince the reader that neither this Minos I nor his descendant Minos II had anything to do with the gradual evolution of Cretan culture as seen in the first eight periods of Dr. Evans's classification · on the contrary, Minos I dealt it a fatal blow at the end of 'Late Minoan II'.

Accordingly, the historical evidence compels us to reject the name 'Minoan' for this Cretan culture. But there is still a more imperative need for its abandonment. As it is now being used by Dr. Evans and his followers, it deliberately assumes that all the Bronze Age culture of the Aegean radiated from Cnossus. Yet this is not true either in 'Early Minoan' when, as we saw, Melos was admittedly ahead of Crete, nor in the 'Middle Minoan' period when Cnossus is found importing and copying certain wares from Melos, nor again is

it true in 'Late Minoan' time, for, according to tradition, Minos II brought to Cnossus from Athens the great artificer Daedalus.

It has been assumed that because Cnossus is by far the richest and largest site of the Bronze Age culture, its people must have been the greatest artists in the Aegean. But the story of Daedalus seems to give us the true view, a view not only true of Cnossus but of other great centres of art in various times and places. It by no means follows that because some particular place, whether it be Cnossus, Athens, Syracuse, Rome, or Florence, is especially rich in works of art, the inhabitants of the particular city must necessarily be regarded as the authors of these works of art which adorn their town. Art is a luxury, and the artist, in order to live, must seek wealthy patrons, whether great potentates, such as kings and despots, rich civic communities, or financial and commercial plutocrats. Yet it would not follow that because in time to come the sites of the British and South Kensington Museums in London and of the Central Museum in New York showed an extraordinary wealth of magnificent and costly works of art, that the natives of London and New York had been the creators of the cultures to which these splendid remains belonged. In ancient, mediaeval, and modern times, great monarchs who had or have the control of unlimited wealth were and are especially the patrons of the arts. Minos II seems to have been one of this class, as is shown by the story of Daedalus. The despots of Syracuse and other Sicilian cities in the fifth century B.C. are familiar examples of the same type. Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides, nay even Aeschylus himself and doubtless many other artists, flocked to the court of Syracuse. When Athens became the head of the Confederacy of Delos and Pericles used for her adornment the tributes of the allies, though she had great artists of her own, the best of the rest of Greece gathered within her walls. The great painter Polygnotus, whose works were amongst the wonders of Athens, was not an Athenian, but a native of the remote island of Thasos. No better example, however, can be found than those brilliant artists whom Alexander the Great attached to his court, for Apelles came from Cos (or Colophon) whilst Lysippus was a native of Sicyon. The same holds good for Rome in the days of Augustus. It was not a native Roman, but Dioscorides a Greek, that engraved the portrait-head of the emperor, and there can be little doubt that all the best art-products of Rome at this period were the work of Greek artists. Even the Florence of the fifteenth century tells the same tale, for Lorenzo the Magnificent attracted thither the best intellects of Italy. Finally, it was not a native Roman, but Michel Angelo Buonarotti the Florentine, that adorned the Sistine

Chapel with its wonderful paintings. In the face of the teaching of history, it will scarcely be maintained any longer that because Cnossus was the capital of a most powerful dynasty who held the Aegean with their fleets and who were ready to lavish on artificers from all lands, such as Daedalus, the wealth that flowed into their coffers from many a tributary, that Cnossus and the Cnossians were the sole authors and disseminators of the Bronze Age culture of the Aegean. We may even go further and point out that in the great fortifications of Tiryns and Mycenae we have a phase of architecture which certainly was not copied from any Cretan prototype. We may, therefore, safely conclude that Crete and Cnossus were one of the chief *foci* of that Aegean basin wherein the dark aboriginal race of Greece, Italy, and Spain, gifted in artistic powers beyond all others, reached its zenith in the products of the sculptor. But all round the Aegean and in its isles from the Stone Age onwards there had been a gradual development of culture, and in the fullness of times this goodly plant, when it met with especially favourable environment, be it in Melos, Crete, Argolis, or Attica, blossomed out into peculiar beauty. But the art-products of its various *foci* were never limited to the work of the actual natives of the spot, for any specially gifted craftsman inevitably gravitated towards one of these centres. We may well believe that so it was with Cnossus, and therefore we must not admit, as the name 'Minoan' implies, that all the art of the Aegean world emanated from Cnossus or from Crete.

There is little ground for Professor Burrows's view that there are few things which suggest more certainly the Cretan artists than the Bull-baiting fresco at Tiryns and the Flying-fish fresco in Melos, and that 'there would be Cretans at work all over the Aegean'.[1]

Minos is certainly the greatest of all names connected with Crete, and accordingly Dr. Evans too hastily attributed the Bronze Age culture to him, though it seems highly probable that it was the family of Minos that brought in the new culture of the Early Iron Age. Just as at Mycenae and Tiryns we find evidence of the indigenous craftsmen working for but influenced by the tastes of their new masters, so at Cnossus the artists of the old race continued to work under their Achaean lords. Though the latter had but a poor art of their own, they were not barbarians who destroyed everything that was not according to their own taste. The same race in after-times showed a like tolerant and appreciative attitude towards the arts of conquered lands, such as Italy and Spain. The Goths, and Lombards, and Normans were not an artistic race as compared with their

[1] Op. cit., p 179.

subjects, but there were never greater patrons of art than the Normans. But in all cases, though they admired the native technique, they gradually impressed their own ideals upon the native workmen, and out of the Roman basilica with its round arch arose the Gothic cathedral with its pointed arch and clustered column. So in the products of the Early Iron Age in Greece, such as the Warrior vase, we find the native technique so utilized for the foreign ideal. The great Bronze Age style is decadent, but just as it took centuries to develop mediaeval art out of the Roman, so it took a long period before the old Bronze Age style sank down into the Geometric brought down into Greece by her invaders.

TENNYSON

By HENRY JONES

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read October 27, 1909

I CANNOT accept the great honour which the Council of the Academy has conferred upon me in asking me to assist at the celebration of the Centenary of Tennyson's birthday, without suggesting, were it only by a single word, the depth of my gratitude. When they sent me the invitation I was much surprised, and I have been sorry ever since that I accepted it. You might well have said to them when they asked a student of Philosophy to speak of a great poet, what Lynette said to Arthur when he gave her Quest to Gareth:

> Fie on thee, King? I ask'd for thy chief knight,
> And thou hast given me but a kitchen-knave.

But it occurred to me that what the Council desired on this occasion was not the critical estimate of the scholar, or the expert in the Art of Literature, but some expression of the significance of the last undisputed national poet of England for the multitudes of simple men and women who have sought much, and found much in his poems. From that point of view the burden of my task seemed bearable. Sharing the common mind, and pretending to no other equipment than it possesses, I thought I might try to speak for it.

And yet there is a sense in which no man can speak for another of the things of Art. The appeal which Beauty makes and the response which it awakens differ for every man. Every genuine experience of a beautiful thing is unique, and a borrowed appreciation of it is naught. I do not mean, however, that the realm of the Fine Arts is lawless, or that the feeling of beauty is a matter of caprice. The Canons of Art are as universal as the Laws of Logic. But they are also as general. As no Logic ever can set forth all the reasons for which the simplest belief is held to be true, so no adequate account will ever be given of the grounds on which a poem or painting is held to be beautiful. The premises of the artistic judgement cannot be numbered. They are the intertwined totality of the elements of the personality of the literary critic himself, informed and suffused by the whole of his literary experience. So that, even for the same

individual, judgements of taste are never twice the same in all respects. Personality, which is another name for experience, is like the gateway of Camelot, a living thing which changes. Its

> Dragon-boughts and elvish emblemings
> Move, seethe, twine and curl

Nevertheless, the world's judgement of the great things of Art stands singularly stable and secure That variable, inconsistent, ill-informed, elusive, captious and unreasoning thing which we call the public taste, if it is given time to follow its own blind ways, somehow sifts the subtle qualities of the poets and on the whole arrives at sound conclusions The process is very mysterious, and far too wayward and complex to be satisfactorily explained. We only know that it is carried on by many minds, and carried on the more successfully, the more each mind is sincere to its own findings. As the wind, passing through the forest, makes each particular leaf vocal in its own way, and brings forth a multitudinous music that is *one*, so the greater poets set free the power of the beauty of the world to play upon the souls of men innumerable, and awaken, soon or late, the same universal murmur of glad assent.

The unanimity of their satisfaction in a great poet is not due, I think, or not due to any great degree, to the influence of the official literary critics upon a docile public mind The critics themselves are by no means unanimous. The history of criticism makes the strangest reading. Even in the case of Tennyson, the vicissitudes of whose fame have been far less striking than is usual with great poets, the literature of criticism awakens reflection. Travelling through this wide wasteland I was almost led to believe that there is one region where caprice is more unconfined and the rule of chaos more unrestrained than in that other region, in which Philosophy is the innocent and long-suffering victim. I can almost pardon what has been said of Hegel, now that I know what has been said of Tennyson.

Besides, even if the critics were unanimous, which is really quite unthinkable, the public mind is not so docile as we are prone to think. It is apt in literature, as in philosophy or politics, to lead its leaders; and if it enjoys a poet, it neglects his critics. The ultimate verdict of the world is not reached by weighing the opinions of the experts, and striking the mean between adulation and detraction. It does not come as the result of disputation. The function of critical argumentation is narrow even in the departments of learning where the clash of argument and counter-argument must be heard. The false, even in philosophy or theology, is rarely refuted

by direct disproof. Error is not uprooted as a rule; it is pushed aside by new growths of truth, often in fields which look remote enough. Theological systems may be rendered obsolete by natural science, and false opinions are left to wither like forgotten household plants.

In poetry the function of criticism and argumentative disputation is still narrower. Criticism is so different in purpose and spirit from the aesthetic appreciation of poetry, that I do not think it decides the destiny of the poets. Criticism does not call to the throne, for a king whom we can look in the face is not altogether royal. It is love that crowns. The critics have their own place and their own worth, but it is not *their* voice which has summoned Tennyson

To move
To music with his order and the king

It is the voice of the scholar, it is true, but not when he is engaged in criticism. It is even more the voice of unnumbered men and women who do not read criticisms much, who know nothing of the Canons of Art, but who have found in the poet what they sorely needed. Tennyson spoke for England, when confusion had fallen upon its heart,

In that close mist and cryings for the light.

and the gratitude of England to him is just and deep.

I am inclined to treat this uncritical criticism, this methodless method of the unreflective multitude, which cannot read its own heart and only knows that it is being moved, with great respect At a time when detraction is somewhat prevalent, I want to stand by the verdict of the common mind. By occasional reference to it I think that the scholar or man of letters himself may find his judgements stayed and steadied. He will be saved from irrelevancies by its directly practical ways. As a critic he cannot, and should not, avoid comparing poet with poet, and therefore he must feel the limits of every poet in turn. He must tell us how he cannot hear in Tennyson's verse the majestic roll of Milton's music; or how he misses the direct virility of Burns, or the profuse intensity of Browning's tumultuous energy: how Tennyson's Art is three-parts artifice; or how he was not the Ariel of song like Shelley, and had not the young Greek face of Keats, or how there is not to be found in him the solitary expanse and the bleak magnificence of Wordsworth's everlasting thought. But nothing of all this matters for the common mind, nor for the scholar himself when he reads not to judge but to enjoy. *Then* he is glad that Tennyson was himself, and not Wordsworth or another. For his fine ear detects in Tennyson's voice

some quality never heard before, and he knows that the great choir which chants our gorgeous literature is richer for his presence.

It is for this new, positive quality that the true ear always listens it is for this that the lover of what is beautiful cares, and not for defects or limitations. When a man is on the quest for beauty—and when else should he speak of poetry?—he has no use for negation. He will have no commerce at all with that which does not please. He would close the door of his Palace of Art against things which are not fair; and if by any chance they enter, he turns their faces to the wall, and lets them be It is not the inharmonious strains that linger in the musician's ear, nor do they form the o'ercome of the song he lilts within his heart.

Man is very much a pragmatist He values things for their use. His interest in negation is really very narrow, and always an accident of something positive In no department of his spiritual enterprise does he draw inspiration from the flaws or the dishonour of the world 'Yea, I know it,' was the answer which Merlin gave to Vivien when she spoke of Lancelot's commerce with the Queen, '*Let them be.*' Merlin was wise and knew Nature's own method, which is to grow the grain and forget the chaff. And human nature, betray it as men and women will, is still part of the generous nature of the wider world. It sifts the true from the false by a method which is positive. It dwells with what it loves, and it forgets the rest.

Holding converse with a changing world and clashing with its circumstance, men catch glimpses of their own needs, and amongst these, of their need for that which is true, and right, and beautiful. And if they discover anywhere the objects which will satisfy these needs, they show a lasting, if reluctant, gratitude to those who bring them; and bear late wreaths of laurel to their graves.

I would confirm gladly the admiration of the few and critical of Tennyson's 'unborrowed perfections', but my task is both humbler and higher. I would, on this occasion, express the gratitude of the many and unsophisticated readers to the poet, whose thoughts were their own thoughts about their own English scenes and English life. For Tennyson lived in their world. he was tried by their difficulties, moved by their fears, acquainted with their griefs, troubled by their dim questionings; and they found solacement in the music of his verse. I doubt if any poem ever written has soothed the sorrow of so many hearts as *In Memoriam*. The qualities which the Aesthetic Art demands are in his poems: the charm of the equal yoking of thought and word, 'for there never was a finer ear than Tennyson's

nor more command of the keys of language',[1] and surely the shy beauties of nature never played on a more sensitive instrument than his soul or broke into more exquisite strains But besides these things, of which it is mere platitude to speak, there fell from his hands many other kinds of good gifts, scattered by the way but precious all the same—faith in the face of doubt, hope contending with despair, inspiration to all gentleness in life. I hold it no wonder that his age proclaimed him King, or that 'only once in the history of our literature in verse, and once in prose, has there been seen a royal suzerainty maintained over an entire epoch by a single writer to be compared to that by which Alfred Tennyson has dominated the Victorian Age'[2] His age did well to submit to his yoke and yield itself to his power. It may be true that other times have brought other needs, and that the ideals of the Victorian Age are in many respects no longer ours, yet I do not think that the hour has come for Tennyson's power to pass

> Tho' some there be that hold
> The King a shadow, and the city real,
> Yet take thou heed of him, for so thou pass
> Beneath this archway, then wilt thou become
> A thrall to his enchantments, for the king
> Will bind thee by such vows, as is a shame
> A man should not be bound by, yet the which
> No man can keep

It will be said no doubt that to prize a poet on such grounds as these is to esteem him for qualities which are alien to his Art. Poetry it will be said—and truly—is sovereign within her own realm.

> Singing and murmuring in her feastful mirth,
> Joying to feel herself alive,
> Lord over Nature, Lord of the visible Earth,
> Lord of the senses five,

what has *she* to do with the brawlings of truth and falsehood, or the strife of right and wrong?

> I take possession of man's mind and deed.
> I care not what the sects may brawl
> I sit as God holding no form of creed,
> But contemplating all.

The value of a work of Art, it is justly held, depends entirely upon its beauty. A picture is not better for being a portrait, nor a poem because it has a religious subject, or conveys moral lessons, nor is 'a hurdy-gurdy in tune because it plays the Old Hundredth'. Art, Morality, Knowledge, Religion are all sovereign in their own domain, and each of them amply authorizes itself.

[1] See Emerson's *English Traits* [2] Frederic Harrison's *Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill*

But this truth is often misunderstood and put to false uses. It is thought that their Sovereignty can be secured only by confining each of them to a restricted domain into which the others may not enter. Truth, Beauty, Goodness are said to deal with different objects, as well as to appeal to different faculties, and to aim at different purposes. They are separate aspects of our experience, relative to different phases of reality, all of them abstract, onesided, and incomplete, and they 'come together only in the Absolute'

I wish to admit their independence, but to deny their rivalry and mutual exclusion. It seems to me that the dominion of every one of these Supreme Arts of Life is not only absolute but without bounds. There is no region anywhere which the Fine Arts may not invade and make their own—not that which Science rules with an iron hand, nor that in which the elemental powers of right and wrong wage their endless warfare, nor that where Religion dwells amongst green pastures watered with springs which never fail The ideals of man's best life overlap Every created thing belongs to them all alike It is an object of knowledge to him who seeks the truth, a means of learning what is right to him who aims at the moral good; and it may also be fraught with music for the poet. Facts which are fragile, transient, fleeting as the dance of daffodils, can enter into many contexts, every one of which is permanent. They may illustrate a Law of Nature for science, or the Imperatives of Duty for the moralist; and they may be made a joy for ever by the poet. Nor is it otherwise with the things of the world of mind—with the play of social forces, the growth and decay of policies and constitutions, the strife of creeds and systems. These too are materials for poetry and for all the Arts of life. The true, the beautiful, and the good are like different voices in one harmony. Each sings its own part, and follows the windings of the common theme in its own way; and the music is all the richer.

And it is *one.* Beauty, Truth, and Goodness are abstract it is true, and not one of them *is* the whole. But they are all an attempted rendering of the whole. They come together in the Absolute · nay, they come together in the soul of man. They convey to it the many-sided glory of the world, which is majestic at once in its rightness, and truth, and beauty. There is no way which man can devise to translate the language of the one into the language of the others, nothing but poetry can render the truth of poetry, and nothing but doing the right can render the meaning of morality. Nay, we cannot make the Fine Arts take the place of one

sculpture. The experience of each is *finally* unique. But though the rational spirit of man cannot translate their speech into a common tongue, or invent a spiritual Esperanto, still it can comprehend them all. The quarrel of Art and Morality, of Poetry and Philosophy, is but a foolish brawl between their ragged retainers. They themselves are most at one when they are most themselves.

The soul of man is like a walled city, immured at first within itself, ignorant of the meaning of the wider world, callous to its beauty, selfishly exclusive of its larger purposes. But the powers which compass it round about are friendly, though it knows them not. The great rich universe sits in perpetual siege against it, as if resolved in one way or another to break down its isolation and flood it with its bounty. If the portals of reason are closed and the engines of argument and armed proof fail to force the gates, the beauty of the arts may win a way, like the evening mists which moved up the stream of Eden, bringing with them a good needed but not sought. The linked concord of music, the glory of form and colour, the sweet fragrance of the poet's verse may succeed where the concatenated necessity of reasoning fails.

Are there not many thousands of men and women whose very life rests on moral convictions and religious beliefs which they cannot defend by conscious reasoning? They can follow the arguments of the Sceptic, for the incoherencies of experience are many and plain, and the way of negation is easy. But they cannot answer them. The dogmatic creeds seem to them to browbeat reason, and they are not satisfied: while the constructive systems of the great philosophers, who testify to the spiritual nature of the world, sound in their ears like jargon and look like jugglery. These men and women have sought and found, and they have rightly sought and found, in the great religious poets of the last century what they could not find elsewhere. Had it not been for Wordsworth, Browning, and Tennyson above all others, they would be found dwelling 'in a world of eclipse and paralysis, neither able to find a faith nor to do without one, sitting

> by the poisoned streams of life
> Waiting for the morrow that shall free them from the strife'.

Poetry is a generous Art, and it needs generous critics, willing to see it grace the dry-herb dinners of the saints, as well as the feasts of sinners. But the hastier critics of this more lusty age cannot quite forgive Tennyson his stainlessness. There is lack of enterprise, they say, in his moral world, and of the spirit of adventure

in his speculations; his faith is too simple, his spiritual humility too deep. But I would ask them to take a larger view. The critics who would limit the significance of man's ways, and tether his destiny to that which is visible to the eyes of sense, and who deny the rights of poetry to range in wider realms are more rash than those who wait expectant, and try to spell out the intimations of man's immortal nature.

But herein, it will be said, is the very defect of Tennyson. The nature of man and that of the Universe in which he lives do not surge and heave with meaning for him, as they did for the Romantic Idealists of the preceding age. He touched great themes in a timid way. His poems are perfect etchings, delicately truthful in every line, and in their way supreme, original, unrivalled in our own or any other literature. But they lack range and power and passion. Tennyson gives us glimpses of Nature's nooks, and the most faithful renderings of the finite fragments of man's moral and reflective life. But he has not written down 'the things that should not be'. 'All is silver-grey, placid and perfect with his Art.' It never 'gives way', always 'he knows both what he wants and what would gain', and his 'low-pulsed forthright craftsman's hand' never fails in execution.[1] There is a glamour in his *Princess* and the enchanted radiance of times which never were in his *Idylls of the King*, fancy, but not imagination, romance, but not mystery. Even in his *In Memoriam*, where reflection moves with the burdened brow of pensive thought along the utter margins of man's world, there is no Mount of Vision, but everywhere the plain expanse and the sober wealth of Tennyson's own Eastern counties. His faith and his doubts were the faith and the doubts of his time: 'like Pope he found the tersest expressions for its dominant moods and its ruling ideas'[2] and gave us faithful transcripts, but nothing more. Child of the flat plains of common experience, he did not

> Roam at large among unpeopled glens
> And mountainous retirements,

like Wordsworth, nor,

> Reckless of the Storm
> That keeps the raven quiet in her nest,

was his spirit

> As a presence and a motion one
> Among the many there. . .
> An equal amongst mightiest energies.

[1] See Browning's *Andrea del Sarto*.

[2] See Professor Macneile Dixon's *A Primer of Tennyson*—a most sincere and reliable estimate of the poet.

He was the poet of finitude, distinct in every lineament, classical in his methods—the clear, pure, perfect, English Virgil. The infinite to him was like the ἄπειρον to the Greek. It was awful without being sublime, it overwhelmed, but did not inspire, for it had neither form nor measure. It was the region of eternal dusk. The rays of knowledge striving with its gloom were foiled, distorted, absorbed, and the familiar ways of the ordered life of man were lost. Nature's vast powers paid no heed to reason. Like his own Lucretius, he

> Saw the flaring atom-streams
> And torrents of her myriad universe,
> Running along the illimitable inane,
> Fly on to clash together again, and make
> Another and another frame of things
> For ever

And he was afraid Browning could revel in the riot. He took a pleasure in the uncouth pride

> Of young volcanos come up, cyclops-like,
> Staring together with their eyes on flame

But Tennyson's imagination was appalled. He feared the forces which the natural sciences of his day were at once setting free and ranging together under laws universal and inexorable. And this was natural. His day was the hey-day of Materialism He was not out of touch with the physical sciences as Wordsworth was, and he was much too open-eyed to the truth not to see how their ranks were closing together around the narrowing circle of man's life, and how vain for breaking through were the old devices. Hence Tennyson did not appeal *to* Nature: he appealed *against* Nature.

The same dread and abhorrence of the lawless infinite appeared in his attitude towards the social forces which first broke loose in his day. Once more his imagination could not match the emergency. He was no Wagner who could set to music the wild cries of the New Democracy. He saw only its destructive side; nothing but anarchy could ensue, and he yearned for the simpler order of the past, secured so slowly and with such toil.

> Step by step we gained a freedom known to Europe, known to all,
> Step by step we rose to greatness—thro' the tonguesters we may fall.

'Demagogue,' 'leader of the people,' was no epithet of honour to him. It meant one who would

> Bring the old dark ages back again without the faith, without the hope,
> Break the State, the Church, the Throne, and roll their ruins down the slope.

He could not trust his wings over the unexplored abyss of our country's future fate, nor did he share the passion for adventure without end, but like his own Ulysses confined his widest wanderings to the sunlit isles. Linking his hand within the hand of humble faith, he turned his steps backwards towards the old well-ordered ways of a beloved land where it was always afternoon

Now, what are we to say of these negations? Very simply, I answer, that on the whole they are true. But whether they are generally relevant and have any substantial worth, or whether on the other hand they have only the distorted truth of a photograph which is out of focus, is another question.

There is a passage in Carlyle's essay on 'Goethe', which the negative critic who finds faults may well lay to heart, and which I most certainly do not wish to forget. 'The faults of a poem, or other piece of Art,' says Carlyle, 'as we view them at first, will by no means continue unaltered when we view them after due and final investigation Let us consider what we mean by a fault. By the word "fault" we designate something that displeases us, that contradicts us. But here the question might arise who are *we*? This fault displeases, contradicts *us*. so far is clear, and had *we*, had *I*—had *my* pleasure and confirmation—been the chief end of the poet, then doubtless he has failed in that end, and his fault remains a fault irremediably, and without defence. But who shall say whether such really was his object, whether such ought to have been his object? And if it was not, and ought not to have been, what becomes of the fault?'

Now, what measure really is it we are meting to-day to the poet who yesterday meant so much for England, and who may mean so much again to-morrow? Speaking for myself, I must say that I am diffident, and my own thoughts rebuke me. As a critic of Art I am helpless. I can only *feel* the witchery of his lyrics, the immaculate perfection of his rendering of nature's delicate lines and hues, his Knights so full of lustihood, 'Each with a beacon-star upon his head,' his maids so lily-white. I am content to ride forth in his train

> Under groves that look'd a paradise
> Of blossom, over sheets of hyacinth
> That seem'd the heavens up-breaking thro' the earth,
> And on from hill to hill, and every day
> Behold at noon in some delicious dale
> The silk pavilions of King Arthur raised.

Criticism sinks into silence amongst such scenes as these.

And if I turn from his Art and call to mind that as a student of

Philosophy I am expected to speak of his *thoughts*, I must remember that I am of course the slave of a system—one of those who

> Take the rustic murmur of their bourg
> For the great wave that echoes round the world.

Besides, I am a Celt, unmodified and unrepentant, and Tennyson was a Saxon in every fibre of his mind, and Celt and Saxon can never quite understand each other. Doomed and yet privileged to live in that confused land where the real and the imaginary, the practical and the impossible, intertwine, child neither of heaven nor earth, nor, I trust, of the place beneath, the Celt is an incorrigible Romanticist. His very reason is fancy-fed, he is impatient of the sluggish ways of the persevering world; and he is a dissenter from every creed. Even beauty must at times for him escape all law; humour must be reckless and unrestrained, and truth itself must, as Hegel said, 'be drunk in every limb.' The Celt will delight in Tennyson's colouring, and wanton in the wealth of his ornamentation; but do you think that a Welshman can rejoice really in the same way in Tennyson's utter accuracy and perfect draughtsmanship, or that an Irishman will find *his own* delirious jollity in such a poem as the 'Northern Farmer'?

The Celt can barely understand the deep love of law and of slowly broadening order, or the unyielding tenacity of a poet who mastered his own moods and could for forty years perfect his *Idylls.* You may charge the Celt with 'fool fury' if you will, or 'wild hysterics', and fail to see that there is method in his madness as well as madness in his method. But he is not entirely without his rights, Romanticist as he is; and when he is about and in power it is well that you should be awake, both to what he has to give and what he takes away. On the other hand, it were well for him on his part, if he could value a little (not too much) the plain, practical, sound and most limited Saxon sense which could prompt a Jowett to send to a great poet suggestions of subjects for his poems—The 'Jupiter Olympius', or quite simply and slightly 'Relatives in India', or 'I wish Mr. Tennyson could be persuaded to put "The Dogma of Immortality" to verse'![1]

Verily, Puck's opinion about our kind was not far wrong[2]

But I turn aside from these limitations. I have referred to them because the critic's part is so hard, so impossible to play. He has to

[1] See *Life of Tennyson*, i, pp 433-5.

[2] I have found that one cannot jest south of the Tweed, or east of the Severn, except at one's personal peril; for one occasionally meets, not the Englishman who is an Anglo-Celt, but an Anglo-Saxon. May I ask the latter not to take this contrast too literally?

appear in a rôle that is much too large for him. He has to measure the master minds, and in pronouncing his verdicts pretend to speak for human nature and the nature of things at large. But, even when his heart is generous, his standards are defective, for poetry has many forms and speaks in 'infinitely various accents'.

I have not the least doubt that the defects or limitations which are now found in Tennyson's poetry are in great part our own, that it is impossible for us to pass the final verdict, and that we must not pretend to do so. The time has not come as yet. There are Arts and Sciences on which we can deliver judgement at once. We need not delay, for instance, before pronouncing a theory in Mathematics or a hypothesis of Natural Science to be true or false. But the poet's case 'is a case reserved'.

I have been trying to think what it is which time must bring before the world can pass a trustworthy judgement on the poet: for, of course, time's mere lapse means nothing. Why is it, for instance, that the critics count it a defect in Tennyson that he shared the fears, the hopes, the beliefs, the doubts, the opinions of his age? We do not blame Sophocles for living within the horizon of *his* times. We do not think Isaiah the less poet for sharing the hopes of Israel, or Euripides for giving voice to the doubts which darkened his age's decaying faith. We know that the perishable forms of human life can be filled by the poet with imperishable meanings, and that mortal civilizations can put on immortality. The *theme* of the poet, as well as his rendering of it, can be lifted into the realm of imagination; and then it is like a treasure laid up in heaven, out of the reach of corruption. Greece lives for ever in its poets; so does Israel; so does Rome; so does the England of Shakespeare, and the Age of Milton and Pope and Wordsworth; and so may Tennyson's England yet: for, as has been well said by one of the truthfullest of all his critics, 'he was above and beyond all the poet of England, and the best lover among her poet-sons.'[1]

A great English literary critic, in some ways the greatest of them now living, I mean Professor Bradley, has referred to the attempt to distinguish between the perishable and the imperishable elements in great poetry, and especially to the theory that would place reflective opinions, beliefs, doubts, systems, whether they be religious, philosophical, social or political, in the former class.[2] This theory is not all false, but I cannot think that it is the last word on this matter. No one now believes in the Theology of Homer, but still we offer

[1] Professor Macneile Dixon: *A Primer of Tennyson*.

[2] See *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, pp. 170, 173, and 362.

sweet sacrifice to his gods and goddesses, and we would not for any price pull down their altars. Can you divide the *Iliad* into two parts, and gather the social views, the politics, the theology together in one heap and call them perishable? Not in the least. They, too, have suffered change, to suffer change no more, for they have become objects of the imagination. As the

> Moving accidents by flood and field,
> The hairbreadth scapes i' the imminent deadly breach

became a tale of love in Desdemona's ear, or as the winter's rages pass into the gentle days of spring or summer's quiet evenings; so, by a process that is 'strange and passing strange', the risks and disasters of a nation's life, even the bickerings of its creeds and the contentions of its politics, pass imperceptibly into the imperishable form of poetry. *But not till the strain and the strife of the actual experience of them is past.*

Poetry demands detachment, but so also does the true, or poetic appreciation of poetry; and that detachment from the poetry of Tennyson has not yet come. Our era, in spite of many differences and of the dim looming of other times to come, is still the same as Tennyson's, and our critical estimates are not safe. The world is turning another side to the sun, but the change of the spiritual seasons is not yet complete. It is true that Tennyson does not rule in our sky at the height of noon as he did in the middle of what we call the Victorian Age, and that his fame is for the moment westering. But the reason is in ourselves: it is the earth that turns. The religious doubts and the political fears which tried his faith and courage are still abroad. Our spirits are, as regards these things, not yet at peace. We cannot look at his themes through a serene atmosphere as we look at the objects sung by the poets of ages long ago. Our poetic judgement is disturbed by our concern for *causes*; and, in consequence, Tennyson's fame wades amongst our floating opinions like the moon amongst the clouds, and his silvery light is often obscured.

Of two things only, it seems to me, is it possible for us at this time to be steadfastly certain. The first is the absolute originality of Tennyson's artistic touch. Whatever may be the compass of his voice, there can be no question of the uniqueness of its quality. It is like a rich and unobtrusive *Alto* saturating with its subtle sweetness the harmonies of the greatest choir of singers which the world has ever known. On this matter all the critics worthy of the least respect are at one.

The second is the absolute fidelity of his rendering of his Age—a thing which the critics know, but have not yet recognized as also a possession for ever, for they are still entangled in its experience. Hegel has compared the man of genius in his relation to his age to one who places the last and locking-stone in an arch. Many hands have helped to build the structure, but it is in his hand alone that it becomes a thing complete, balanced, self-sustained and sure. And such a master's hand was Tennyson's—the last of our country's truly immortal poets.

The last as yet, but, I must believe, not the last of all There is another arch a-building, hanging incomplete with its wider span over wilder waters. For there is a seething of religious beliefs and a lawless raging of social forces the like of which has probably not been seen before. But I believe that deep down amidst the surging doubts, the foundations of a stronger faith both in God and in our country's destiny are being slowly laid. It is a faith *in facts* and not a faith *in spite of facts*. It appeals not to God against Nature, but to God *in* Nature and in the mind of man. It is not a faith rent in twain by dualisms as Tennyson's was; for the iron grasp of the mechanical conceptions of the Victorian Age is relaxing its hold. It is a faith in a Universe which is not dead but divine—the living garment of the great good God. This faith promises to possess the souls of men enduringly; and it, too, will find its poet

Tennyson's courage was the courage which his day demanded; and you have only to turn to such testimony as that of Bishop Westcott or Henry Sidgwick in order to realize what Tennyson meant for his time.[1] His was the unflinching courage and the tenacious hope of a traveller across an arid waste, who when all his companions cried out 'Mirage', maintained that yet there was somewhere in the vast expanse a green oasis and living waters. His own lips were parched with thirst, and his strength wellnigh fordone.

> I falter where I firmly trod,
> And falling with my weight of cares
> Upon the great world's altar-stairs
> That slope thro' darkness up to God,
>
> I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
> And gather dust and chaff, and call
> To what I feel is Lord of all,
> And faintly trust the larger hope.

The spiritual waters had sunk very low in that age, nay, they were wellnigh lost; but I think that the rains are coming, and that

[1] See Tennyson's *Life*, i, pp. 300–4.

springs will rise in the desert, and that mankind will yet drink deep, and know that God and Nature satisfy.

Not less full of hope, in my opinion, is the outlook in other directions. I think that the social seethings which brought such fear upon Tennyson's order-loving heart and added weight to his patient eighty years, will also find their law that holds them in their channel. Our country 'will emerge, one day' And well, indeed, will it be if when that day comes it will find a Poet faithful to its highest hope and noblest life, as Tennyson was throughout his own long day of purest service.

Carlyle tells us that 'The old Arab tribes would gather in liveliest *gaudeamus*, and sing, and kindle bonfires and wreathe crowns of honour and solemnly thank the gods that, in their tribe too, a Poet had shown himself. As, indeed, they well might; for what usefuller, I say not nobler and heavenlier thing, could the Gods, doing their very kindest, send to any Tribe or Nation, in any time or circumstances?'

England, being confused by the foolish gossip of poisonous tongues—the England which Carlyle rated so soundly and loved so well, forgot to her bitter shame the returning cycle of *his* birth. I am glad it has not been so with Tennyson, as I come, in obedience to our Council, to place my withering flower on his grave.

THE INTERPRETATION OF EVOLUTION

By W. R. SORLEY
FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read November 24, 1909

When *The Origin of Species* was published, fifty years ago to-day, observers were not wanting who saw that its influence would not be restricted to the biological problem which it set out to solve. That problem had for the most part been given up by Darwin's contemporaries. The idea of evolution was indeed almost as old as speculation and older than science; theories of the transmutation of species had often been put forward; but no theorist had produced a tenable account of the causes operative in the process and of their mode of operation. And so it happened that, at the time when Darwin and Wallace were pursuing their independent ways towards the same goal, the doctrine of evolution was commonly ignored by official teachers and investigators. Weismann, who was a student in the fifties, records that he and his contemporaries 'had no idea that a theory of evolution had ever been put forward, for no one spoke of it to us, and it was never mentioned in a lecture. It seemed as if all the teachers in our universities had drunk of the waters of Lethe, and had utterly forgotten that such a theory had ever been discussed, or as if they were ashamed of these philosophical flights on the part of natural science, and wished to guard their students from similar deviations.'[1] Huxley tells a similar story. To men concerned for the progress of science it seemed better 'to turn aside from an interminable and apparently fruitless discussion'[2] Darwin's work changed the whole situation. 'That which we were looking for,' says Huxley,[3] 'and could not find, was a hypothesis respecting the origin of known organic forms, which assumed the operation of no causes but such as could be proved to be actually at work. . . . The *Origin* provided us with the working hypothesis we sought.' How this hypothesis has revolutionized biology and the sciences connected with biology is a familiar story, but one that does not concern us here.

[1] A. Weismann, *The Evolution Theory*, Eng. transl., i. 28.
[2] T. H. Huxley, in Darwin's *Life and Letters*, ii. 197.
[3] Loc. cit.

The wider influence is equally familiar. By its presentation of the doctrine of evolution the book has had the effect of turning men's minds upside down in a way no other book has done since the publication of Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus*. This inversion of mental attitude was due primarily to the new theory of natural selection. But natural selection raised the principle of evolution from the position of vague speculation to that of scientific theory.

All the human sciences and philosophy itself have been permeated by the new influence. Huxley's words are a trifle magniloquent, but they are not exaggerated: 'To any one who studies the signs of the times, the emergence of the philosophy of evolution, in the attitude of claimant to the throne of the world of thought, from the limbo of hated and, as many hoped, forgotten things, is the most portentous event of the nineteenth century.'[1] Since its triumphant appearance in Darwin's work the idea of evolution has modified almost all subsequent philosophy and dominated much of it. It is the keynote of Spencer's comprehensive system, as well as of other philosophies less well known. It is not my purpose to trace its influence upon these or other thinkers The present occasion will be better utilized by trying to understand the significance of the doctrine for our general interpretation of reality. Evolution, in Huxley's words, is 'claimant to the throne of the world of thought'. Perhaps it may be held that, after fifty years of triumph, its claims have been fully vindicated This view may not be quite correct; but even if it be true without qualification, it is no treason to examine the sovereign's title or to inquire into the form of government. Is it a limited monarchy (we may ask) that evolution is to exercise over our thought? or does it aim at the tyranny?

The term Evolution is itself of varied meaning and usage. In its older biological meaning, 'evolutio' was opposed to 'epigenesis'; but this meaning has disappeared with the theory it denominated The uncertainty in the present usage of the term comes from diversities of reference and of emphasis. Three different things may be in view, and these have to be distinguished. In the first place there is the new fact which Darwin and Wallace added to the theory of the subject. This new fact is the establishment of natural selection as a *vera causa* in the progressive modification of organic forms. Natural selection was shown to be operative, and the view that it is the chief or even only factor in development thus became a possible hypothesis. The discovery did not originate the theory of organic evolution, and that theory conceivably may stand without it; but, at

[1] T. H. Huxley, in Darwin's *Life and Letters*, ii 180.

the time it was propounded, it almost completely altered the prevalent scientific attitude towards evolution. As his biographer tells us,[1] Darwin felt 'that it was "almost useless" to endeavour to prove the general truth of evolution, unless the cause of change could be discovered'; and this, as already said, was the prevailing attitude among biologists of the day. Afterwards, 'when his views were being weighed in the balance of scientific opinion, it was to the acceptance of Evolution, not of Natural Selection, that he attached importance.' The theory of organic evolution—that is, the view that the origin of all forms of living beings may be traced to one or a few comparatively simple forms—is clearly distinguishable from the theory that natural selection has been the chief agent in the process. Further, the conception of evolution has not been restricted to the organic world. Organic evolution has occupied only a comparatively short period in the history of our planet; and we know nothing of its existence elsewhere. But much is known regarding the changes undergone by the earth and by the heavenly bodies, at a time when no life, such as we know it, could have existed upon them. Long before Darwin's day a theory of Cosmic Evolution had been worked out by Kant and Laplace. With this doctrine Darwin, like other biologists, did not concern himself. But the success of his biological theory gave a certain impetus to the older doctrine, although the credit of attempting a comprehensive philosophy of evolution, inorganic and organic, belongs to Spencer. Finally, recent physical science opens up the possibility of a theory of atomic evolution which will exhibit the generation of the minute parts of matter as cosmic evolution explains the formation of the solar and stellar systems. 'Theoretically, at any rate,' wrote Huxley, more than twenty years ago, 'the transmutability of the elements is a verifiable scientific hypothesis.'[2] Experiment has now taken the first steps towards verifying the hypothesis. In this way evolution becomes coextensive with the universe of physical reality, and the idea may seem to have unlimited application—sovereignty, as Huxley would have it, in the realm of thought.

The idea of inorganic evolution may have played a part in leading to Darwin's conception. His mind was prepared to find orderly progress in the world of living things by Lyell's demonstration of the reign of law throughout geological changes; but the physical theory of the formation of the solar system does not seem to have affected his thought; and the science of his day had not yet attempted to break up the atoms or speculate on their genesis.

[1] F. Darwin, *Charles Darwin* (1902), p. 166

[2] T. H. Huxley, *Collected Essays*, i. 79.

When he spoke of evolution he meant organic evolution. The detailed elaboration of inorganic evolution is omitted from Spencer's system also, though he had always the larger conception in view. In this larger conception organic evolution, with its applications to mind and society, is only an episode in the cosmic process which includes all material systems, whether large or small, animate or inanimate.

Evolution, in the wider sense, thus comes to be regarded as of universal application; and the conception gathers new significance. Change is too obvious a characteristic of experience to be ignored by any cosmology; but inquiry has always had in view the finding of a permanent which persists through change. As we look back on the history of this inquiry, we are struck by the fact that each advance in knowledge has made the permanent recede. The stable earth of the pre-Copernicans has had its history traced and its movements in space analysed; the revolutions of the celestial bodies are no longer regarded as uniform and eternal; and the atoms—once held to be the absolutely changeless constituents of a changing world—are found to lose their indestructibility when science gets to close quarters with them. It would almost seem as if change is the only permanent which we can get to know, as if we could grasp no other reality than the process, and as if the only thing that is constant is the laws of this process, or of evolution. If this result hold good, it emphasizes the importance of an accurate analysis of the process. In particular we must be on our guard against identifying things that are different; we must not start with the assumption that the laws of cosmic evolution are the same as those of organic evolution, or that the latter are summed up in natural selection.

It is true, of course, that organic evolution is itself a part of cosmic evolution, in the larger sense of that term. Life appears at a certain stage in the cosmic process; its continuance is dependent on the existence of certain conditions in that process. Of its presence in other worlds than ours we can say nothing; but in the history of the earth it is a comparatively recent fact. Its presence and behaviour react upon and modify the inorganic conditions which form its environment. But this influence is limited; and we can hardly anticipate from it any serious modification of the fundamental structure of the earth or of the course of its history as a member of the solar system. Inorganic evolution is a much larger thing than organic evolution. There is therefore some reason, when cosmic evolution is spoken of, for using the term as equivalent to the sum-

total of inorganic processes. For the greater portion of the time concerning which science gives us information, cosmic evolution is (so far as we know) entirely inorganic evolution; and its course admits of being formulated in certain laws which involve no biological conceptions. The laws of organic evolution have also been formulated —though controversy as to their correct statement still continues— and the two sets of laws may be brought into comparison. This, indeed, is the first question of importance that arises when we attempt to understand the theory of evolution. In what respects are the laws of the organic process the same as those of the inorganic? and in what respects, if any, do they differ?

It is clear that there are characteristics common to the whole process which lead us to look upon it as a unity and make us hesitate to fix an impassable gulf between the inorganic and the organic. To begin with, the evolution which we ascribe to both means continuity between successive stages. It is certainly not easy to define exactly what this continuity implies. It does not exclude the appearance of new formations, for the problem of evolution consists in the explanation of the origin of the new results which arise out of conditions in which they were not present. But it does exclude the idea that these results are to be accounted for by forces acting from outside the cosmic process itself. Each stage in the process with all that it contains must find its explanation within the universe and not in something outside. If we go beyond this statement we find a good deal of diversity of opinion as to the interpretation of the continuity implied in evolution, or—if the expression be preferred—as to the degree in which continuity can be asserted of evolution. The difference comes out very plainly in present biological controversies. Darwin may be said to have interpreted the idea of continuity very strictly—perhaps under the influence of the uniformitarianism which, in his early days, had finally triumphed in geology. He looked upon all the striking diversities presented by the world of life as due to the accumulation of small, almost minimal, variations. Huxley, on the other hand, thought that Darwin had loaded himself 'with an unnecessary difficulty in adopting *Natura non facit saltum* so unreservedly'.[1] Before the publication of *The Origin* he had expressed his belief in 'the absence of any real transitions between natural groups',[2] and, after its publication, he emphasized the 'spontaneous' appearance of strongly marked differences between offspring and parent as giving occasion to the rise of new varieties.[3] By the stress he

[1] T. H. Huxley, *Life and Letters*, second ed., i. 254.
[2] Ibid., i. 250.
[3] T. H. Huxley, *Collected Essays*, ii. 34 ff.

laid on this point Huxley may be regarded as in some measure the forerunner of those biologists who, with De Vries, draw a sharp distinction between the fluctuations which have no significance for species-building and the mutations which are capable of giving rise to new specific forms. The hypothesis of De Vries denies the particular form of the continuity-doctrine implied by Darwin sudden well-marked variations are substituted for the repeated small increments in the same direction upon which Darwin relied. To the same effect, the leader of the Mendelian school asserts that 'the conception of evolution as proceeding through the gradual transformation of masses of individuals by the accumulation of impalpable changes is one that the study of genetics shows immediately to be false'.[1] At the same time the causal connectedness of successive stages in the process is not denied. The controversy is important for the biologist, but does not bring out any fundamental difference between the kind of continuity asserted in inorganic and that asserted in organic evolution. The variations with which Darwin starts are not strictly minimal, though they are less well-marked than the mutations of De Vries or the characters to which the Mendelians trace the origin of varieties. In the inorganic as in the organic world we are presented with a succession of changes of varying magnitude. What science has to do is simply to understand the law in accordance with which each change arises, it does not dogmatize beforehand how great the change may be. It is true that 'the fall of a pebble' will not 'extinguish the sun', but touching an electric button may light the gas or explode a mine; and the 'discontinuous variations' of modern biologists postulate no greater breach of continuity than this.

Both in the inorganic and in the organic processes the direction is determined not by the gradual unfolding or 'evolutio' of a preformed structure, but by an interaction of forces which involves antagonism. In Kant's sketch of cosmic evolution the process by which worlds emerge from the primal nebula depends upon the conflict of attractive and repulsive forces. Similarly, in the case of organic evolution, the theory never advanced much beyond the stage of a pious opinion or gained the suffrages of men of science until Darwin gave it definiteness by introducing the conception of a conflict. The 'struggle for life' is, in the first place, a struggle of the organism with its environment which does not supply satisfactions in proportion to organic wants; and in the second place, and more markedly, a struggle between organism and organism for such means of

[1] W. Bateson, *Mendel's Principles of Heredity* (1909), p. 289.

satisfaction as can be extracted from the environment. The conception, as is well known, is due to Malthus, and it is interesting to observe how near he sometimes comes to the reflection that the struggle will end in a survival of the fittest and yet how far he is from the idea! For he was not thinking of development or the slow advance of organic beings to higher forms. He was concerned, on the contrary, to show that the contemporary idea of perfectibility was only a dream, and he therefore saw only the misery of the conflict, and not the advantage to which it may lead. To both Darwin and Wallace, on the other hand, reading Malthus with the eyes of naturalists on the track of an explanation of the varied forms of life, the suggestion came in a flash that here lay the principle for which they were in search. They saw in it a force capable of breaking down the barriers between species and making possible an indefinite amount of change in the forms of living beings. This, however, is only one result of the process. Natural selection, added to the causes already recognized as at work, is not limited to the explanation of change. It shows also how a certain measure of permanence or constancy arises in the organic world.

Thus we come upon a further point of similarity between the inorganic and the organic processes. From the interaction of the forces of attraction and repulsion Kant deduced not only the changes of the solar system, but also the relative stability of the planets and their movements. Everywhere conflict is capable of becoming, in a fuller measure than Heraclitus allowed, 'the father of all things'—of relative permanence, as well as of continual change. A system of forces acting upon the same material system in different directions may produce a state of moving equilibrium, which is disturbed only by slow and almost imperceptible stages, until the equilibrium is overturned and a period ensues of rapid change leading to a new distribution and a new equilibrium of the constituents of the system. A real analogy may be traced between these alternating periods of stability and instability and corresponding features of organic evolution. The individual organism exhibits a condition of moving equilibrium which comes to an end at death and is succeeded by a series of rapid changes and a new distribution of its component molecules. In the same way the animal or vegetable species may retain its stability through countless generations of individuals; a certain balance is kept between the life-preservative tendencies of the members of the species and the conditions to which they have to adapt themselves. The species changes in type very slowly—perhaps hardly at all. Then, in some way, the nature of which still puzzles biologists, the rate of change

seems to be accelerated and, after a period of struggle, certain new forms are found to have established themselves. Similar characteristics may also be found in 'superorganic' evolution. There are stationary periods in the history of society in which change is so slow as to be hardly apparent, the social forces are in equilibrium. But these are succeeded by times of rapid change—of reform or revolution.[1]

These characteristics, accordingly—continuity, conflict and co-operation of forces, alternate periods of stability and instability—may be seen to belong both to inorganic and to organic evolution. And doubtless these common characteristics might be increased in number. Spencer, as is well known, has formulated a law of evolution [2] which is meant to describe it at any stage. And neither this formula nor the characteristics mentioned are without significance. At the same time they are merely formal similarities, and do not themselves reach the cause or causes operative in the process which we call evolution. To establish the desired connexion between inorganic and organic evolution we should have to show an identity of causes—to demonstrate that the effective factors in the evolution of life can be accounted for completely by the forces already operative in inorganic evolution—greatly complicated, perhaps, and newly distributed, but not different in nature. Formal resemblances do not involve causal identity. We may indeed be confident that the analogies present are not the result of accident. We may go further and assert that, occurring as they do in the successive stages of the world's history, they show a certain dominant unity of what, in default of a better word, may be called plan. But in what terms this unity may be best expressed remains at this stage an open question—the question of the interpretation of evolution.

When we pass from the consideration of the more general and formal characteristics of the process to inquire into the nature of the causes at work, difficulties arise in bringing organic evolution into line with inorganic. As long as we keep within the latter region we work with certain well-recognized laws which determine the movements and arrangements both of masses and of molecules; and these laws hold of all physical and chemical phenomena throughout time

[1] Cp Sir G. H Darwin, *The Genesis of Double Stars*, in *Darwin and Modern Science*, pp 543 ff.

[2] 'Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.'—*First Principles*, § 145.

and space. The world, as governed by these laws, is regarded as a mechanical system. And the question arises whether the phenomena of life can be expressed in the same terms and adequately interpreted by the same mechanical theory. Now man himself, the interpreter of nature, belongs to and forms part of the biological series, and this fact has a double consequence. On the one hand, there is the prejudice of the human intellect: man's pride of place spurns kinship with the lower animals and hates to have his life reduced to the same terms as the things he uses. With this prejudice the controversial literature of the sixties is full; Darwin and his followers constantly met and fought it; perhaps we still need to be on our guard against its subtler effects; but it is matter of agreement that it deserves no place in scientific argument. There is, however, another consequence of greater importance which we must draw from the fact that man himself has a place in the scale of life. He has immediate experience of life as lived. It is not merely an external fact for him; it is closer to him than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet. He may observe his own actions in the same way as he observes the actions of another man, or the behaviour of an animal, or the effect of an acid on a metal, that is, from an external point of view. But in the first case he has in addition another source of knowledge. And formulae which are sufficient for the expression of his objective experience may be found inadequate here where his experience is fuller. There is therefore no *a priori* reason to assume that mechanical categories must be adequate to explain life and consciousness, because they are accepted as adequate for the explanation of physico-chemical sequences.

The questions of the genesis of consciousness and the nature of conscious process may be set aside for the present. For no approach has ever been made to a satisfactory explanation of consciousness in terms of mechanism. It is, as Spencer allowed, an altogether unique aspect of reality, and to call it an aspect of reality does not render it any the less in need of explanation. Mechanism can hardly be said to attempt to explain it, but rather to push it aside, out of the causal sequence with which it is concerned, and by theories of psycho-physical parallelism and the like to excuse itself from offering any explanation. But the facts of life cannot be set aside in this way. A theory of evolution which neglected biological evolution could never be regarded as explaining all the facts, and the facts overlooked would be just those which, since Darwin's day, have occupied the centre of scientific interest.

If we are to interpret the course of evolution as a whole whose

successive stages are united by some systematic principle, we must be able to show some connexion between the organic and the inorganic sections of the process. The simplest and most obvious way of doing this may appear to be that of interpreting the organic process as due simply to a further complication of the processes already found to be operative in the inorganic world. This is the mechanical interpretation of life and its development—an interpretation which may be said to have found favour oftener than it has found definite expression and defence. Mechanical explanations of living processes are given whenever they seem possible, and where they are not forthcoming the facts are left unexplained, in the hope that the advance of knowledge will not demand any other method of explanation. And this attitude would be justified if the advance of knowledge led steadily to increasing success in the mechanical method of interpreting life—a point on which there is much difference of opinion among biologists. There are three things which the mechanical theory has to explain: the beginnings of life, the processes of life in the individual organism, and the evolution of living forms. It is generally admitted that life began to appear on the earth at a comparatively late stage of its history: can we trace its origin to pre-existing non-living causes? It is admitted that there are certain distinctive features belonging to the processes involved in the maintenance and continuance of life: can these be reduced to physico-chemical processes? It is admitted that existing forms of life are descended from much simpler forms: can the process be expressed in terms of mechanical causation?

Darwin's work undoubtedly gave a powerful impulse to the mechanical interpretation of life.[1] His personal attitude to the question was, however, more complex. It showed, on the one hand, a leaning to the mechanical view on general grounds, and, on the other hand, loyalty to the facts which made that view difficult of acceptance. In the concluding chapter of *The Origin* he spoke of the first appearance of life as due to a special creative act. He disliked and regretted the 'pentateuchal' term[2]; but he seemed to have nothing to put in its place, for it remained unchanged in subsequent editions. At the very time when the theory of natural selection seemed to bring vital history one step nearer a mechanical explanation, exact experiments were destroying the old belief that living beings might originate from lifeless matter. Pasteur's experiments were almost contemporaneous with Darwin's book. What these and later experiments establish is that, in every case which has

[1] Cp. J. T. Merz, *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, ii. 406.
[2] C. Darwin, *Life and Letters*, iii. 18.

been submitted to scientific examination, the maxim holds, *omne vivum e vivo*, spontaneous generation does not occur. The result is important for that view of the unity of the whole process which the mechanical theory of evolution puts forward. A gulf is found to separate the inorganic from the organic, and science can find no means of bridging that gulf.

The difficulty is approached and circumvented in different ways There is obviously a way out for those who are willing to assume unity irrespective of proof or established probability It may be held that although abiogenesis no longer takes place, yet at an earlier period and in other conditions certain arrangements of inorganic material may have given rise to the functions which we call life. Huxley and many others have taken up this attitude. It is impossible to demonstrate that the view is false, but it is altogether vague, for it gives no indication of the kind of change in present conditions which would be necessary and sufficient to produce abiogenesis. Is it difference of temperature that would be required? Already we are familiar with all ranges of temperature in which life is possible Or is it different chemical constituents? We have at hand all that an organism needs. What ground is there for supposing that the conditions of the origin of life must be of a different order from the conditions for its continuance? Besides, the transformation is constantly taking place before our eyes. Organisms die, and on the other hand inorganic or lifeless matter is being constantly transformed into organic matter. A living being, however, is always the agent in the transformation of the inorganic into the organic. What we are asked to believe is that the transformation could take place without the living being if only the conditions were altered in some quite undefined ways. We need not disregard altogether this appeal to ignorance, or fix a limit to the possibilities of natural causation. But it is a hazardous thing to turn aside from verified fact and base our general theories of nature upon vague *a priori* possibilities.

The difficulties inherent in the view that life has some time or other been produced by physico-chemical causes have led to various speculations pointing to the doctrine of the equal eternity of life and of matter. Such a doctrine is indeed hard to reconcile with our knowledge of the past history of the solar system. In testing reputed cases of abiogenesis Tyndall found that the hardiest germs could not survive if subjected to boiling three times at intervals of a day; and surely it would be still more difficult for them to survive during the ages in which the whole earth was in a molten state. It has been suggested, indeed, that the life of those days differed from the life of

to-day; in particular, that it did not stand in need of the same chemical elements. But this is to empty the problem of its content, and to set up a futile hypothesis; for it leaves unexplained life as we know it. There is really more coherence in the suggestion of germs of life scattered through space, and conveyed occasionally to one planet or another at a time when its surface might happen to be adapted to receive and preserve them. Of course the suggestion only drives the inquiry one step further back. We have still to ask how these seeds of life could have originated and survive. But if we look upon them as coeval with matter, and regard the material universe as infinite in extent and always containing systems at every stage of development, life, when extinguished in one system, might always be left in another; and, if there were any means of passage from one system to another—Lord Kelvin suggested meteors—its survival might be accounted for, and we should not have to put the question about origin. There is a certain imaginative coherence in the view, therefore, though it would have significance for science only if some plausible account could be given of the means by which the life-germs are conveyed from system to system so as to escape the hazards of the journey, or if successful search were made for germs of life in the meteors which reach the earth.

This physical speculation may have little claim to rank even as a working hypothesis. Its importance lies in its recognition of the uniqueness of life and its distinction from physical or chemical compounds. The admission of the unbroken continuity of life implies some real difference between organic and inorganic material systems, and leads logically to a critical attitude towards all attempts to explain the processes of life in purely physico-chemical terms.

It is, of course, matter of agreement that chemical conceptions must be used in explaining vital processes just as mechanical conceptions are needed to explain the structure of the living body. The only question is whether the explanations thus given are or can be complete. And on this question the controversy follows lines parallel to those marked out in the controversy regarding the origin of life. Only, whereas the physico-chemical origin of life has been held, at the best, as a 'pious opinion'[1] or as a belief 'against all evidence',[2] a similar explanation of vital process has been held to approach nearer to completeness with every advance of physiology. The last generation of physiologists regarded anything of the nature of vitalism as nothing more than a survival of scholasticism. 'What

[1] T. H. Huxley, *Collected Essays*, i. 117.

[2] C. Darwin, *More Letters*, i. 321. (The reference here is not to the origin of life, but to its continuance.)

better philosophical status,' asked Huxley,[1] 'has "vitality" than "aquosity"? . . If the properties of water may be properly said to result from the nature and disposition of its component molecules, I can find no intelligible ground for refusing to say that the properties of protoplasm result from the nature and disposition of its molecules.' The course of his own argument gave the answer You can see water generated before your eyes out of two substances which in isolation have none of the properties of their compound. But, as far as our knowledge or reasonable inference goes, life only comes from life. The molecules of dead protoplasm may be as similar as you like to the molecules of living protoplasm, but dead protoplasm does not give rise to living protoplasm, and the latter maintains and hands on its life by selecting material from its environment different in nature from itself and transforming it into living protoplasm. While the constant interaction of organic and inorganic, and the transformation of one into the other by assimilation and rejection, explain and justify the attempt to find, if possible, a physico-chemical account of vital processes, we have no *a priori* reason for expecting this account to be complete. One thing stands in the way: the causal sequence is in one direction only; the organism assimilates inorganic material and gives off inorganic products; but no inorganic system produces the phenomena of life. The question whether vital processes are nothing more than physico-chemical processes has to be decided without *a priori* prejudice by a scientific examination of the adequacy of the theory to explain the facts.

It is fair to ask the question whether *any* vital process can be completely explained on mechanical or chemical principles. But the difficulty becomes acute at certain points. The organism grows and preserves its life not by mechanical accretion, but by transforming what it receives; it does not simply gather material similar to itself from the environment, as the crystal does: it assimilates material different from itself; it has, within limits, the power of regenerating lost parts and of healing wounds; it performs work as a machine does, but, unlike a machine, it supplies itself with energy and repairs its losses, it maintains its identity throughout constant chemical changes, and it reproduces its like.[2] These processes are the distinctive characteristics of organisms. No physiologist professes to be able, as yet, to account for them in physical and chemical terms; and not a few physiologists are coming round to the view that it may be necessary to have recourse to a different method of interpretation.

[1] T. H Huxley, *Collected Essays*, i 153

[2] Cp J. A. Thomson, *The Science of Life*, p. 85.

If the physico-chemical explanation of life may still be held as a 'pious opinion', it remains 'opinion' as distinct from knowledge, and it is no less 'pious'—which, I suppose, means unscientific—now than it was in Huxley's day.

The theory of panpsychism, as held, for example, by Haeckel, does not really help us in the difficulty. According to this theory every physical unit is also at the same time a psychical unit, but we are told nothing of what its psychical nature is as distinct from what physics and chemistry tell us of its molecular, atomic, or electrical characteristics; and these do not account for the self-preservative, self-restorative, and self-reproductive characteristics of the living being. These latter are only to be found in connexion with a certain combination of chemical molecules—a combination which could not have been present in the solar system during the greater portion of its evolution in time. The assumption—for it is a mere assumption—that all matter has its psychical side may be true, but it does not help us to explain the facts of life as known to us: how it is that life appears only at a certain stage of material organization, that nevertheless this organization does not produce it, that it interacts with the physical world, stands in need of its substance for its continuance, and converts that substance to its uses, but at the same time remains consistently unique, generated only by itself.

The old horror of vitalism was partly a mechanistic prejudice; but partly it was due to an assumption, on the part of many vitalists, that the living body possessed within it a distinct source of energy called 'vital' in addition to the energy stored up in it as a result of the distribution of its molecules and the influence of the environment. But such an assumption is as unnecessary as it is unwarrantable, and it is no part of modern vitalism. The energy that an organism can expend is limited by the amount it has received and accumulated in potential form. What has to be explained is the way in which this energy is guided in certain directions which issue in the preservation, growth and repair of its own body, and in the reproduction of its kind. The conception of *vis directiva*, which certain Cartesians applied to the soul, might be used of vital action generally without running counter to the modern doctrine of conservation of energy.[1] Nor is any inconsistency with this fundamental postulate implied in the views of that growing minority of physiologists and biologists who find that the mechanical and chemical explanations formerly offered are inadequate to explain 'the manner in which the passage

[1] Cp. J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, i. 205; H. Driesch, *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism*, ii. (1908), 198 ff.

of energy and material through the body is regulated in accordance with what is required for the maintenance of the normal structure and activities of the body', and who are led to postulate 'the fundamental axiom that an organism actively asserts or maintains a specific structure and specific activities'.[1] The controversy on the subject may be said to have entered upon a new stage in recent years. But two points are clear. In the first place physiological analysis has never succeeded in explaining the facts of life by physico-chemical conceptions. In the second place there is less general confidence among physiologists than there was a generation ago that ultimate success is possible along these lines

Darwin's leading ideas were not directly concerned either with the origin of life or with the nature of vital process in the individual organism, although they have had important bearing indirectly upon these questions. His immediate interest was in the transformations which kinds of living beings undergo during long periods of time, in interaction with their environment, and here his new discovery gave an important impetus to the mechanistic interpretation of evolution. Natural selection is an operation due entirely to the environment. The idea and the name were suggested by the process of artificial selection carried out by breeders The latter process is, of course, controlled by the purpose of an intelligent agent; but in natural selection there is no intelligent agent and no purpose, but only a certain disposition of the limited means of maintaining life supplied by the environment, which favours the organisms that happen to be best adapted to secure it. The conditions of the environment are external to and independent of the organism itself, and they may be allowed to be determined by mechanical law. So far, therefore, as natural selection, strictly interpreted, is the agent in evolution, so far will it be possible to interpret the process mechanistically. Darwin himself, indeed, never maintained that natural selection was the sole agent in evolution. He admitted other causes such as the direct action of the environment and the effects of use and disuse; and he assigned great importance to the principle of sexual selection in which the subjective factor is prominent. But his more Darwinian followers make a claim for the 'all-sufficiency' of the principle. It is therefore important to be clear both as to the meaning of natural selection and as to the extent of its application. On both points the biological atmosphere is at present charged with controversy.

Yet the meaning, at any rate, should be clear. In the first place

[1] J. S. Haldane, *Report of the British Association* . *Dublin, 1908*, pp. 865, 869; cp *Life and Mechanism* (*Guy's Hospital Reports*, vol lx, pp 89 ff).

natural selection cannot be reduced to the tautological principle, 'what is not capable of existing cannot exist'[1] The essential point is that organisms which would be able to exist in the environment, were it not for the presence of similar organisms, cannot maintain their existence owing to the competition of the latter when the means of existence are scarce. Hence only the 'fittest'—that is to say, those best adapted to the special conditions—survive; and as these transmit their serviceable variations, the racial type is modified. In the second place, however, it should be clear that this action of natural selection is not itself a productive but only a discriminating agency It acts only upon variations presented to it, it does not itself produce these variations. It assumes, therefore, first, the principle of heredity in virtue of which the offspring tend to repeat the characteristics of the parents, secondly, the principle of variation (however explained) in virtue of which the offspring present various differences from one another and from the parents; and thirdly, the principle of self-preservation, or the tendency of the individual organism to maintain its own life and to reproduce its kind Apart from heredity, selection would not affect the next generation, apart from variations there would be nothing to select; without the self-preservative tendency all life would disappear. These principles are not less important because they are so obvious. They may be assumed, but they should not be overlooked; and it is a gross abuse of language to use the term 'natural selection' as if it included them. Darwin himself saw that the term was liable to be misunderstood and misused, and said, 'If I had to re-write my book, I would use "natural preservation" or "naturally preserved"'[2] (instead of 'natural selection'). But meanwhile the term had caught on, and the mischief was done. Were we to substitute for 'natural selection' the alternative term which Darwin suggests, the writings of his followers would be found to contain some curious reading. To take only a single example where many might be given. In explaining the perfection of the caterpillar's cocoon, a well-known biologist writes, 'We are thrown back, then, solely upon Natural Selection, which acts on the nervous system of the caterpillar, and thus compels it to make the cocoon in a certain way. In other words, those caterpillars which are impelled by their nervous system to make ill-formed, conspicuous cocoons have no chance of living, and, in the perfect stage, of producing offspring.'[3] In this passage the latter sentence gives a plain statement of the mode of

[1] H. Driesch, *Der Vitalismus als Geschichte und als Lehre* (1905), p. 125.

[2] C. Darwin, *More Letters*, i. 161 (letter written in 1860).

[3] E. B. Poulton, *Essays in Evolution* (1908), p. 117.

explanation offered by the theory and would be in no way affected by the use of a less anthropomorphic term than natural selection But if we made the substitution in the first sentence, and asserted that 'natural preservation' or 'being naturally preserved' 'acts on the nervous system of the caterpillar, and thus compels it to make the cocoon in a certain way', the absurdity would be obvious at once. It is the production of the serviceable cocoon that leads to the preservation of the caterpillar, not vice versa. Preservation can only preserve what is somehow produced otherwise. Even the importance of the fact that only some are preserved, and those the best adapted to their environment, depends upon the power inherent in the organism of reproducing offspring like itself but perhaps with additional variations which may prove still more serviceable. Preservation or selection checks development in certain directions and allows or favours it in others; but the cause of the development lies elsewhere, hidden in the inner nature of the organism.

The point may appear to be a verbal one only, and it is strange how it seems to irritate even a great writer like Weismann, although he is compelled practically to acknowledge its validity.[1] But a real question lies behind the verbal dispute. When natural selection is held to be a positive productive force it is easy to look upon the whole course of evolution as due to external mechanical causes. But the stern simplicity of mechanism is disturbed when we insist on interpreting natural selection for what it is and for what it does and for nothing more.

The further question of the extent of the application of natural selection to cases of evolution can be decided only by specialists after investigation of all the facts. And it is a question on which contemporary biologists are not in entire agreement. That natural selection is a *vera causa* in evolution has, I think, been put beyond reasonable doubt. At the same time the principle is so easy to work that it lends itself too readily to a hypothetical history of the organic world. An example may be taken from the greatest representative of the pure theory of natural selection. Weismann finds no difficulty in explaining by its means the double coloration of the arctic fox and other animals which change the colour of their coats from summer to winter. 'The mountain hare', he says, 'must have had some sort of colour before it attained to seasonal dimorphism. Let us assume that it was brown, that the climate became colder and the winter longer, then those hares would have most chance of

[1] A. Weismann, *The Selection Theory*, in *Darwin and Modern Science* (1909) p. 61, cp. p. 27.

surviving which became lighter in winter, and so a white race was formed'[1] Nothing could be simpler And yet it is all a matter of conjecture. No fact is adduced to prove that the colour was originally brown in winter, that individuals were born with all kinds of slight variations from the type, that one of the variations that happened to occur was a tendency on the part of the animal's coat to grow lighter in the cold months of the year, that the hares with this variation did as a matter of fact escape their enemies, whereas those which did not possess the serviceable variation did not escape, and that as the competition of their persecutors grew keener, the coats of the surviving hares grew almost indistinguishable from the snow, and further that in summer a reverse process of selection was going on, eliminating the whites and preserving the browns. No trace of direct evidence is given that these processes did take place, but they may have done so, and unless they did the theory of natural selection would not hold without qualification Therefore they 'must have' occurred. When we read these and other imaginative renderings of past history we should do well to bear in mind the caution of a younger biologist. 'In these discussions', says Bateson, referring to a similar matter, 'we are continually stopped by such phrases as, "if such and such a variation then took place and was favourable," or, "we may easily suppose circumstances in which such and such a variation if it occurred might be beneficial," and the like. The whole argument is based on such assumptions as these—assumptions which, were they found in the arguments of Paley or Butler, we could not too scornfully ridicule. "If", say we with much circumlocution, "the course of Nature followed the lines we have suggested, then, in short, it did." That is the sum of our argument.'[2]

I adopt this protest against the 'must have been' style of argument. Natural selection has undoubtedly been a powerful factor in determining the direction of evolution. Any facts showing its operation are to be welcomed, any indications of its presence in doubtful cases must be considered; the probability that it has been acting in circumstances which yield no direct evidence must also be taken into account. But assumption is not proof, even when the assumption has at its back the foregone conclusion that evolution must be interpreted mechanically. The mechanistic interpretation may still be possible as a hypothesis; but as long as vital origins and vital processes cannot be explained by it, it must remain hypothetical. Natural selection presupposes these vital processes and works upon their

[1] A. Weismann, *The Evolution Theory*, Eng transl. (1904), p 65

[2] W. Bateson, *Materials for the Study of Variation* (1894), pref p v–vi.

results. As each organism maintains its own specific structure and activities, so the species maintains itself, though with greater power of adaptation to change. Heredity implies a tendency to preserve the specific character, just as variation opens out directions along which change is possible Until we know the conditions which determine variation, we have no right to assume even the view that they are altogether indifferent to the form subsequently taken by the species—although that *may* turn out to be the case. The assumption that they are accidental, or that they occur indifferently in all directions, cannot be regarded as more than a methodological convenience. As adopted by Darwin it made his argument for natural selection all the bolder and more impressive, but it did not make it a convincing demonstration that natural selection was the sole agent in evolution—nor was it intended to do so.

More recent biological investigation has been largely occupied with this question of variation. De Vries, the Mendelian School, and Weismann himself are examples. The general tendency also is to look for the causes of variation within the organism, while natural selection remains as the external force which sifts out the suitable variations and thus gives direction to the line of evolution. For the most part the investigations are of merely biological interest. But Weismann has worked out a complete theory, the object of which is to give a mechanical interpretation of the whole process. On the one hand, there is natural selection acting upon particular organisms and operating upon them by physical and chemical laws. On the other hand, within the hereditary substance of each organism a process is going on by which certain vital units rather than others are chosen to carry on its life into the next generation of individuals. To this process he gives the name of germinal selection. The denial of the heritability of functional modifications, upon which Darwin as well as Lamarck had relied, has led Weismann by gradual stages, each logically required by this denial and by his mechanical postulate, to work out a mechanics of the submicroscopical structure out of which every living thing develops The smallest globule which the microscope reveals in the chromatin of the nucleus of the fertilized ovum is potentially a new organism, and virtually represents the whole. But its structure, according to Weismann's conjecture, is as complex as the distinguishable and transmissible features of which the complete organism consists. To each distinguishable feature in the organism there corresponds a different part of the structure, and this he calls a determinant. 'Thus, for instance, in many human families there occurs a small pit, hardly as

large as the head of a pin, in the skin of the ear.... In such a case there must be a minute something in the germ-plasm, not present in that of other human beings, which causes the origin, in the course of development, of this little abnormality in the skin.'[1] According to the old theory of 'evolutio', the egg contains the whole organism in miniature This is not Weismann's view, for he does not hold that the determinant resembles its determinate. But his theory is equally complex, for, according to him, the germ contains within it a distinguishable portion corresponding to each heritable feature in the organism There must be tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of such determinants within the smallest globule of the germ-plasm which is visible under the microscope These determinants will differ among themselves in their strength and access to nutriment, and the body which develops out of any germ-cell will be stronger or weaker in any feature according as the determinant of that feature was favoured or not in germinal selection. The variations are indifferent to the well-being of the organism, but natural selection, acting upon individual organisms, will favour those whose determinants have happened to lead to favourable variations.

On this hypothesis rests Weismann's view of the mechanism of evolution. And the mechanism is offered as an explanation both of variation and of heredity, without the Darwinian assumption of the inheritance of functional modifications It is a defence of the doctrine that evolution proceeds by the accumulation of small variations. But its most striking characteristic is the doctrine of heredity which it puts forward. Let us take Weismann's own illustration of the small pit in the skin of the ear which was passed on from generation to generation. On its first appearance it resulted from a determinant in the germ-cell, one of, say, a hundred thousand other determinants enclosed in a barely visible globule. This complexity alone need not make us reject the view. We need not doubt, as Weismann finely says,[2] 'that far below the limit of visibility organization is still at the basis of life.' But we must also remember that each determinant is a morsel of protoplasm and contains a certain number of chemical molecules the size of which is (within limits) ascertained. We have therefore to ask whether there is room within the microscopic globule, not for a hundred thousand determinants, but for a much larger number of chemical molecules. Weismann has made the calculation, and finds the space somewhat scanty, but relies upon a possible over-estimation of the size of the chemical molecule. But the next stage is more difficult. The pit in the skin is transmitted from parent to

[1] A. Weismann, *The Evolution Theory*, Engl. transl, i. 355 [2] Ibid., ii. 157.

child. When the parent organism was beginning to develop from its germ, one of the first steps in the process was the setting aside of the reproductive cells. These of course derive their nutriment from the environing body, and divide and multiply like other cells. But all their heritable qualities come from the minute portion of the germ-plasm set aside at the outset. Each one of the countless thousand ids (to use Weismann's terminology) which it gives off, and each one of which is potentially an organized body, must contain as many determinants as the id from which the parent organism arose. Two explanations only of this supposed fact would seem to be possible Either each id derives from the parent cell a portion of matter which contains a representative part (containing the necessary molecules) of every determinant in that parent cell, or else it does not. The former alternative would render possible a mechanical explanation; but at the same time it would multiply so inconceivably the molecular population of the germ-cell that no diminution in the size of molecules would be of any use in the direction of bringing the doctrine into agreement with chemical knowledge. On the other hand, the latter alternative relinquishes mechanism and allows to the germ a non-mechanical power of some sort

A comprehensive theory of evolution must offer some explanation of the origin of life, of the function or processes of life in the individual organism, of the development of the living body from a single cell, and of the structural and functional changes by which the present wealth of the organic world has been derived from a few simple forms The kind of explanation which has been most frequently kept in view is the reduction of the phenomenon to simpler terms, so that the same conceptions which are found adequate in the sciences of physics and chemistry may be shown to suffice also for the facts of life. This is commonly called the mechanical method of explanation. Were it carried through successfully a great advantage would be gained from the point of view of scientific simplicity. the living being would be explained as a chemical compound is explained by resolution into its elements; the gulf between the inorganic and the organic would be bridged, and our desire for a monistic theory of the universe would be gratified. Both on this account and because it is still in this direction that the majority of scientific workers look for an explanation, it has been necessary to lay stress on the difficulties with which the theory is beset. That life functions in physical and chemical media and in agreement with physico-chemical laws is admitted, and the attempt to explain it entirely by these laws has been fruitful in making clear their detailed operation in organic bodies and in the

interaction of organism and environment that leads to evolution. But it is admitted[1] that the fundamental problem of the nature of life has not been solved in this way. It may be questioned whether it has been brought any nearer a solution. And those biologists are surely within their rights who claim that biology must be allowed to use the conceptions it needs and not be restricted to the conceptions found sufficient for other sciences.

The only reasonable objection to this claim would be the interference of the biological conception with the validity of physical or chemical generalizations. Vital functions are manifested through and in interaction with physical and chemical processes; they do not take place in a sphere of their own, so that conflict between the two sets of conceptions is not inconceivable. It must be allowed also that conflict has not been always avoided. But the biological conception of life does not really involve any such contradiction of physical or chemical generalizations, it does not imply any creation of matter or of energy in the development of living beings or in the processes by which their action takes place, the law of the conservation of energy is not interfered with. And yet it does introduce a way of understanding the facts which has a characteristic difference from the conceptions of physics or chemistry.

And this difference goes very deep. In the last analysis it may be described as the difference between external and internal methods of explanation. The mechanical theory has for its object to reduce qualitative distinctions to distinctions of quantity. Masses are resolved into molecules, molecules into atoms, atoms into finer parts, and at each stage we come nearer to primary constituents alike in kind. These primary constituents may be even identified with some twist in the all-pervading ether. A similar reduction is effected of the forces which determine the movements of the constituents in respect to one another. The theory is incomplete, but it has gone so far in describing physical and chemical phenomena that its validity can hardly be questioned. It may be taken as an account of the whole process of inorganic evolution from its beginning in a rotating nebula—the rotation itself, however, being left unaccounted for. The existing formation of things is to be explained by means of this theory; in principle it will account for the individuality, such as it is, which we ascribe to planets, or continents, or crystals. And the whole process which it describes consists at bottom simply in this,

[1] Even by those who have done most to advance the mechanical explanation in matters of detail; cp. J. Loeb, *Influence of Environment on Animals*, in *Darwin and Modern Science*, p. 270.

that matter is moved from one place into another. Whatever the thing is it is explained in the same way; the individual thing has come into being by the putting together of certain bits of matter and the taking away of others. It is nothing but what its constituent molecules, atoms, and electrons make it, and their behaviour is regulated by certain molecular atomic and electrical laws, which operate without any relation to the thing that is to be; everything is determined from the outside.

On the other hand, the method of interpretation which must now be taken into account looks from a different point of view. It seeks to understand from within. It does not discard the mechanical method, but it supplements it All external explanations are but partial explanations. And it seizes upon the fact of life which has refused to yield its secret to physical or chemical experiment, and reasons from its mode of operation to the nature of the principle at work. Our only way of conceiving this internal principle is derived from the way in which it acts, and certain modes of activity distinguish every living being: (1) it begins as a single cell and from that cell it develops a certain specific structure consisting, in all but the lowest forms of life, of a complete system of living cells, (2) it maintains that structure in spite of the change of its constituent molecules and restores it when injured—this power of self-preservation and of the restoration of lost parts or cure of injury being, however, always subject to limitations; (3) it throws off certain cells which have the power of reproducing organisms like itself—this result being dependent in all the higher organisms upon amphimixis, (4) these processes are carried out in connexion with the environment, portions of which are assimilated and thus transformed into living substance, while portions of the organic body are being continually given off, some of which pass over into the realm of inorganic material. In none of these operations is there any breach of the laws established by physics and chemistry; and yet these laws alone do not explain the result. When they are left to themselves and when the principle of life is no longer present, a different set of consequences ensues, the characteristic functions of the living body cease, and the system built up by life is destroyed. The living body acts as if it had in view the realization, preservation, and perpetuation of its own life in a certain form; it has all the appearance of being guided by a plan. How are we to understand this mode of activity?

'The organization of nature', says Kant,[1] 'has in it nothing analogous to any causality we know.' It is not mechanism; nor,

[1] *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, § 65.

again, is it finalism—as we may use that term to describe the constructive activity of man. When a man builds a house or makes a machine he is guided by a design which is consciously before him, and in each step which he takes he follows this design. He does not interfere with mechanical law any more than the plant or animal does in maintaining its life. He works upon the material provided by nature and he utilizes natural forces to shape and combine things which, apart from his conscious intention, had no connexion with the design he is carrying out. In this way the completed house or machine results, fitted to subserve a purpose which the maker alone put into the material. Vital process is not without analogy to this typical human construction. But the analogy fails at two points. Life is both less purposive and less mechanical than man's work. It is less purposive not in the sense that it fulfils its end worse, but as being without consciousness of that end or ideal guidance in carrying it out. We have no evidence that plants and animals are guided by conscious purpose of their own in their vital processes. We have indeed a positive reason for rejecting the supposition. For in man's own body the vital processes go on independently of conscious design, and are in no way aided if the attempt is made to make them the object of conscious purpose. On the other hand, vital process is less mechanical than man's deliberate constructions. The latter are entirely mechanical except at one point only—where man's designing intelligence controls the putting together and the separation of material particles. The whole process is imperfectly teleological,—teleological, so to speak, only in its design, but mechanical in every part. The living body, on the other hand, is not only teleological as a whole, that is to say, the action of its parts subserve the interests of the whole; it consists of a countless number of living cells each of which exhibits the characteristic mode of action of life. It is thus teleological through and through.

I agree with Bergson[1] therefore—though for reasons not quite the same as his—that finality is an imperfect analogue of life, if we mean by finality the realization of an idea conceived in advance. I agree with him also in holding that intelligence has a certain affinity with mechanism. The most constant needs of man lead to his manipulation of mechanical forces and compel his understanding of them. By standing outside them he observes things as extended in space, has contrived a mechanistic explanation of their interaction, and thereby has succeeded in large measure in controlling them for his purposes. But in practice he has never been altogether content with or restricted

[1] *L'évolution créatrice*, pp. 243 f.

to this external method; nor has he been satisfied with its scientific completeness. By mechanical manipulation he gained his first systematic command over external forces. By the mechanical theory his intellect triumphed over primitive animism and the hylozoism which was the scientific rendering of animism. But he has always had to deal with living things as well as with the inanimate; and in dealing with them he has found out that there are limits both to mechanical manipulation and to the mechanical explanation of actual processes. If a man has to make a tea-cup he moulds and burns and paints and glazes the clay. But if he wants to produce a black tulip he does not cut out and paint the leaves, but selects the bulbs of the darkest-hued flowers and allows them to grow in conditions which he chooses. He does not make his daily bread by manufacturing ears of corn, but he sows the seed in good soil and allows it to germinate. Man's ordinary observation and practical interests bring him face to face not only with mechanism but also with vital process. He may be less frequently occupied with the latter, but he cannot neglect it. It is not correct, therefore, to say that intellect is restricted to mechanism, because mechanism expresses man's practical attitude. It expresses only part of that attitude; and if he finds difficulty in understanding vital processes, it is not because he is without practical interest in them, but because he is more occupied with mechanical interpretations and finds them easier to comprehend.

The working of the internal principle of life is difficult to understand because in its nature it occupies an intermediate position between two kinds of process with which we are familiar. Mechanical causation we know or think we know; and conscious design we know; but what is life? On the one hand, the direction and result of the forces it utilizes cannot be explained merely by reference to their antecedents; we must look to the end, the process implies its result, it follows and realizes a plan This, indeed, we might understand easily could we interpret the process after the model of the designing activity of man; there also the end determines its own realization; but in this case there is an idea of the end, and the means are chosen consciously so as to promote it. In organic process it is different; there there is no idea of the end to guide the organism, so far as the evidence goes, we have no right to say that any idea or consciousness is present; and yet things happen as if directed by an effective intelligence. We can assert that vital process is teleological because it actively realizes a plan. But, if we seek to interpret it by analogy with human design, we must allow for the two distinctions there is plan but no idea of the plan; there is operation upon external

material, but in the process inorganic material is assimilated so that the result is not a machine, as in man's handicraft, but life and more life. This kind of teleology, therefore, differs from the teleological character which belongs to a machine or material system, the separate processes of whose parts are so related to one another as to issue in the performance of a particular kind of work. The latter may be called statical teleology to distinguish it from the dynamic teleology of the organism.[1]

The clear recognition of the inner factor in life and of its teleological nature can hardly be without significance for the interpretation of the process of evolution. It is not external mechanical pressure but life itself that produces the countless individual forms of living beings. These act in various ways, but they have all this in common that each strives to preserve and perpetuate its life in the midst of a more or less propitious environment. The fundamental question at issue in the interpretation of organic evolution concerns the relative contributions of the internal and external factors to the increasing complexity, integration, and adaptation exhibited in the history of species No theory of evolution can be made to work without postulating both heredity and a tendency to vary as characteristics of organisms; and it is the tendency to vary that makes change of organic forms possible. The question is whether variations are in origin and nature entirely indifferent to the direction taken by evolution. Darwin had no theory of variation, but he assumed this indifference, at any rate as a methodical principle. 'Heaven forfend me', he exclaimed,[2] 'from Lamarck nonsense of a "tendency to progression".' The characteristics which distinguish existing organisms from their ancestral type are made to depend upon the environment. Natural selection has favoured serviceable variations and extinguished unserviceable variations. The difficulty arises, indeed, that it seems to have done more than this—to have favoured and accumulated small increments of variation, not serviceable in themselves, provided they pointed in a serviceable direction. So hard is it to take teleology out of the organism without putting it into the environment. But the traditional Darwinian view has undergone important modifications at the hands of modern biologists If 'acquired characters' are not transmissible, a great multitude of variations on which Darwin relied must be relinquished as without influence on evolution: the significant variations must be those only which result from the nature of the germ-plasm. If many varia-

[1] Cp. Driesch, *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism*, ii. (1908), p. 135 f.

[2] C. Darwin, *More Letters*, i. 41 (letter written in 1844).

tions are to be set aside as unimportant, and if only variations of a special kind, described as 'mutations', have a permanent effect on the formation of species, still further doubt is thrown on the doctrine of the omnipotence of the environment The question must be decided by experts, and the experts are not yet agreed. But their investigation of causes is lifting variation out of the region of chance in which it lay for a time. With the elimination of the casual from the problem, it is at least probable that natural selection will no longer be set the task of sifting out the serviceable from among variations in all possible directions. As yet the evidence does not seem clear enough to decide whether there is an organic 'tendency to progression' such as Lamarck postulated and Darwin denied But if we admit that the self-preservative tendency of the individual organism must be conceived teleologically, we need not be surprised if evolution also requires a similar conception. Various facts show that no conception restricted to the interests of the mere individual can be sufficient. the cells which compose an organism live for it as well as for themselves; and the reproductive function of the organism shows that it lives not only for itself but for the race.

After all, the teleological conception which we have used is only a way of describing the activities of organisms, forced upon us in observing these activities. Its negative significance lies in its irreducibility to mechanical causation, its positive significance in its being necessary and adequate for a certain class of facts taken alone. But if we press it further we find limits to its adequacy. Were we to promulgate a vitalistic interpretation of evolution to take the place of the mechanical, its insufficiency would be obvious. It would be helpless in presence of the facts of inorganic evolution, and, as regards organic evolution, it would be one-sided. it might show the way in which organisms treat their environment but not the way in which the environment operates upon organisms. A combination of mechanism and teleology is of course possible, but to put the two orders thus side by side is to set a problem and not to solve it, and further, it leaves out of account all those varied relations between the two orders which are usually referred to under the one term—adaptation.

The question remains whether there is any feature of the evolutionary process which can yield a unifying conception So far, no account has been taken of consciousness, either in its lower forms or in its higher manifestations in the reflective activity of man. In laying stress on the characteristic features of life, it was not found to be necessary to take account of consciousness or feeling.

The vital processes do not seem to be in any need of consciousness for their direction, and there is no evidence that consciousness always accompanies them The organism is a system of living cells, and when the living body dies the cells do not necessarily die with it. But the conscious mind is not a congeries of conscious units, and when the man dies there is no other conscious existence left that once was part of him. Instead of equating consciousness with life, it would seem more correct to say that its relation to life is analogous to the relation which life bears to a chemical compound. As vital process is more than chemical, so the subjective aspect which we call consciousness is a new fact over and above the functions which constitute life. As life arises only from life, so the conscious being has always conscious beings at his origin; there is no more evidence of conscious organisms arising out of unconscious, than of life arising out of inorganic matter.

Many ardent evolutionists will resent the stress thus laid on the distinctions between life and mechanism, consciousness and life. They interfere with the fine simplicity of mechanical monism But we are dealing with facts, and there is no evidence to show that the desired transitions do take place or ever have taken place by means of mechanical causation. There is only an *a priori* prejudgement that they must take place, else the mechanical view would have to be superseded. But, as Huxley said, 'no man who has to deal daily and hourly with nature can trouble himself about *a priori* difficulties'[1]; and we must not be afraid of distinguishing things that differ because it makes the underlying unity hard to discover, and may place it, when found, where we did not expect. If that principle of unity does not reside in mechanism, it would seem that life also is unable to supply it. The characteristics of life, indeed, so far as we have discovered them, have a certain appearance of intermediateness. They defy explanation by antecedents alone; an end or purpose appears to dominate the activities; and yet this end has no verifiable actual existence until the appropriate actions have taken place and realized it. To say that it is unconscious is a statement of fact, but is no explanation. Conscious activity, however, has characteristics which may bring us nearer to a solution.

It is in the human consciousness only that we find unmistakable evidence of the pursuit of ends in a deliberate and purposeful way under the guidance of an idea. Here is the teleology immediately familiar to us; but it is connected with other incomplete stages which are yet within the realm of consciousness. We may have

[1] T. H. Huxley, *Life and Letters*, 2nd edit., i. 314.

merely instinctive action, where the process itself is conscious, but there is no idea of what is wanted At the higher level, where there is any life of ideas, this instinctive action is coloured by desire for the object represented in idea. At a still more advanced stage, the immediate object may be desired as instrumental to the achievement of a further end. Thus an animal may seek and consume its food instinctively, and although we describe the action as purposive there may be no subjective idea of the end in the animal's consciousness; a man, again, may be led to eat by the idea of food and a desire for it; yet again, he may eat, even when this desire is absent, in order to promote a further end—the maintenance of his health In this case, the purpose which we as observers see in the merely instinctive act is made his own and deliberately pursued. So far, man's purposeful activity may seem, in many cases, a needless redundancy. Instinct can achieve its object without this interference. But instinct responds to certain definite stimuli only and by reactions of a fixed nature. Intelligent volition may make its own ends and pursue them in its own way. And from this result two main features which mark off intelligent life, both from animal instinct and from unconscious vital process.

In the first place, intelligence treats the world as its instrument. Man has gone but a short way perhaps along this road, but he has done enough to show how nature can be adapted to ends. His powers are limited; but from the first tool of cave-man to the latest aeroplane, he has been occupied in trying to put his intelligence into nature so that it may work out his purposes. He makes machines of it. Effects of this kind have their beginning below the level of intelligence. As vital process becomes complex, certain portions of the body are specialized in the interests of a definite routine, and in the skeleton and the sense-apparatus we have structures which function in an almost purely mechanical way. Instinct, in some cases, goes further, and impresses the machine-form upon portions of the external world, as in the bird's nest or beaver's dam. By man this use of nature is made deliberately and persistently. Throughout all these different processes, what we find is an operation of the internal factor upon the external, resulting in a mechanical system. The evidence does not go very far; but, so far as it goes, it suggests that mechanism is a deposit made by life or a construction fashioned by intelligence.

The second point is that through intelligence the mechanical pressure of the environment is modified. Man, like all other living things, has to adapt himself to his surroundings. He is under the

rule of natural selection, but of a natural selection which suffers change through the advance of the reign of mind He can anticipate the requirements of his surroundings and by intelligent direction of his conduct escape the operation of natural selection, which acts only by cutting off the unfit. He also reconstructs the environment of human life. The social order, which expresses his needs and ideals, becomes a factor in the selective processes which determine survival and success both for individuals and for institutions.[1] Thus the modification brought about by intelligence in the method of the evolutionary process is two-fold the subjective impulse which is everywhere present in biological evolution is here not merely teleological, it is guided by ideas, and the selective operation of the environment is not merely natural, it consists also of organized intelligence.

It is therefore in mind and not in mere life that we find the suggestion for a non-mechanical interpretation of the whole process of evolution The process is from nature to spirit, from external mechanical causation to internal purposeful direction of the mechanism. And the key to interpret it will be found either in the first things or in the last, in the rotating nebula with which it began or in the rule of mind which crowns the history. The former method has the advantage of keeping close to the familiar conceptions of cause and effect, it explains the later and more developed by the earlier and less developed. life and mind are for it simply more complex stages of mechanism. This is essential to the success of the theory whether in its modern or ancient form, and it has been necessary to point out that the difficulties of the transition are not less now, after fifty years of Darwinism, than they were before. There is one point, however, on which Darwin made a real contribution to the mechanical theory. The adaptations between life and nature are too numerous and intricate to be accounted for by chance. This was felt if not acknowledged on both sides of the controversy. Yet the only alternatives seemed to be chance and design, and design is fatal to the mechanical theory. Natural selection, if it could do all that is attributed to it, would explain the appearance of design without postulating its reality. There are all kinds of variations produced, but only the serviceable can survive, so that blind nature imitates the results of forethought. It is certainly possible, along with this, to believe that the whole machinery was set a-going by a mind who knew what the result would be and intended that result, and this belief might modify our attitude to the result. But the hypothesis

[1] The operation of subjective and of social selection, as factors in evolution, is discussed in my *Ethics of Naturalism*, 2nd ed., pp. 159-68

of a mind which only produces a mechanism and thereafter remains inert has so many difficulties that the devotee of mechanism often finds it easier simply to postulate his rotating nebula and to go no further back.

If we follow the other method of interpretation the function of mind must be taken more seriously. The process will be envisaged as involving the development of an internal principle which directs and controls the forces that appear to us as external. The view begins, indeed, by drawing distinctions which the mechanical theory insists on dissolving or disregarding in the interests of its single line of cause and effect. But, in spite of this, it is really aiming at a more complete unity than that of the mechanical theory. The latter insists upon its abstractions; it isolates different portions of the real process and speaks of their action and reaction as if they were separate things; and it is in danger of losing sight of the process as a whole. It admits, indeed, the spatial unity; of two coexistent things, *A* and *B*, one is not merely cause and the other effect: there is no action apart from interaction. In this way the first and useful abstraction is corrected and we go some way towards a reconstruction of the whole which has been broken up in the interests of our thinking. But mechanism does not allow the same unity to time; it treats *A* as cause only and *B* as effect only, if *A* is a portion of the process which we call 'before' and *B* a portion which we call 'after'. That is to say, it treats the temporal distinction as far more fundamental than the spatial, and it formulates its postulate that the earlier and less developed will interpret the later or more developed and does not require to be interpreted by it. Now, there is one way in which the time-process may be contemplated as a unity, and that is by means of the conception of purpose. When things are regarded as stages in the realization of a purpose, we see a connexion between them which is more than that of cause and effect. The cause is not merely cause, it is there for the sake of the effect. We do not require to deny the causal postulate, but we need to supplement it by its converse. We must interpret the earlier or less developed stages by means of the later or more developed issue. The temporal connexion is not merely causal, it is also final or purposive.

We have immediate evidence of this type of unity in every case in which human design is at work. When mind moves the mass, the end is at the beginning in the form of idea and present throughout each step in the succession. These human designs extend but a little way and last for short times, but they form a basis on which we may construct a view of the course of evolution as purposive.

It is not my intention here to elaborate this method of interpretation or to consider the manifold difficulties with which it is beset. There must be few unprejudiced observers who have never experienced the feeling which prompted Darwin's remark, 'What a book a devil's chaplain might write on the clumsy, wasteful, blundering, low, and horribly cruel works of nature!'.[1] The teleology which was ready to point out the beneficent purpose of every incident is a thing of the past. Yet only a thorough-going mechanism can profess to account for all cases of adaptation by means of natural selection, and then only by a somewhat lawless use of the scientific imagination The purposive interpretation, it may be said, is founded on the analogy of human intellect and will—just as the mechanical theory is based on a mechanical analogy And its limitations must be borne in mind. The purpose has not yet been fully disclosed, and therefore we cannot judge of it from its final issue, though we may feel confident that man and his ideals have their place therein. And man's purposive activity is worked out mainly in an external fashion by operating on things other than his own life; whereas we may conceive the universal purpose as working from within and showing itself most clearly in the internal principles of life and mind, which appear to us to be alternately at issue with and assisted by the forces of external nature.

It is obvious that, in mentioning these points, I am referring to matters of ancient as well as present controversy On them I have no intention of dwelling, partly because the subject is so vast, but also because it is enough for me to have shown that the theory of evolution still leaves the question open That theory has widened our view of the world and tended to unify our view of its history. But it was a mistake on Huxley's part to make it claim the throne of the world of thought; it is not a philosophy, but a scientific generalization which leaves the questions of philosophy unanswered. Evolution is not the real claimant, but mechanism; throughout the ages mechanism has been a pretender to the throne, but a flaw has always been found in its title I have argued that the flaw remains even after the promulgation of the evolution theory; and if authority were wanted to back the argument, it might be found in words written by Darwin in the last year of his life, 'If we consider the whole universe, the mind refuses to look at it as the outcome of chance—that is, without design or purpose'.[2]

[1] C. Darwin, *More Letters*, i. 94 (letter written in 1856).

[2] Ibid., i. 395 (letter of August 28, 1881)

ON THE HISTORY OF THE BALLADS
1100—1500

By W. P KER

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

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At the beginning one is met by the trouble of definition. 'Ballad' is here taken as meaning a lyrical narrative poem (all ballads are *lyrical* ballads) either popular in its origin, or using the common forms of popular poetry, and fitted for oral circulation through the whole of a community.

But no definition, even if it were perfect, would tell as much as a reference to the great collections of ballads made in the last century When we speak of ballads, we mean such poems as are found in the volumes of Child and Grundtvig; in Nigra's songs of Piedmont, and Arbaud's of Provence. In spite of Socrates and his logic we may venture to say, in answer to the question 'What is a ballad?'—'A ballad is *The Milldams of Binnorie* and *Sir Patrick Spens* and *The Douglas Tragedy* and *Lord Randal* and *Child Maurice*, and things of that sort.' It is not a narrative poem only; it is a narrative poem lyrical in form, or a lyrical poem with a narrative body in it. And it is a lyrical narrative, not of the ambitious kind, like Pindar, but simple, and adapted for simple audiences and for oral tradition, from one generation to another.

The ballads in the great collections, many and various though they be, are obviously not complete representatives of popular poetry or of popular narrative. There are many other ways of telling a story, and so the ballads may be contrasted with the folk tales in prose. There are many other kinds of song, and the ballads may be contrasted with the pure lyric, such as 'Blow, northern wind!' or 'Lenten is come with love to town'.

It is possible now, thanks to Child and Grundtvig and their successors and compeers in their own and other lands, to survey most of the ground at leisure. Some results, some general facts, appear to be ascertained by such a survey.

Thus, it has long been known how wonderfully the ballads of different countries resemble one another. The notes of Child and Grundtvig are full of parallels and correspondences, traced and verified with an industry that leaves no difficulty unattacked. Now, beyond the particular work of tracking a ballad through disguises in all the languages—English, Danish, Faroese, French, Romaic, Bohemian—there is the need of grouping the different languages as far as possible, and much of this has been done. The chief results appear to be these, as far as the Teutonic and Latin languages are concerned, and only these are within the scope of this essay[1]:—

1. French. In the Romance languages there is a stock of ballad poetry common to France, Languedoc, Piedmont, and Catalonia, well represented as a whole (with a full bibliography) in Doncieux, *Romancéro populaire de la France* (1904), and, for particular dialects, in Arbaud, *Chants populaires de la Provence* (two vols., 1862, 1864), Nigra, *Canti popolari del Piemonte* (1888), Milá y Fontanals, *Romancerillo catalan* (1882), described by Gaston Paris in a review of Count Nigra's book, *Journal des Savants*, 1889. This ballad-region is bordered in the south-west by the Castilian *romances*, on the south-east by the purely lyrical poetry of Italy beyond the Apennines. The Castilian ballads (Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads*) have a different history from the French Provençal-Piedmontese group. Italian popular poetry, except in the North, is almost wholly pure lyric. Thus the essay on the Castilian romances by our honoured Fellow, Don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo,[2] the delightful book on Italian popular poetry by Alessandro D'Ancona,[3] have little that bears directly on the ballad poetry of the middle province, as it might be called, between Castile and Tuscany. Go out of Castile to the east, out of Tuscany to the north, and you find the Catalan and Piedmontese ballads agreeing with one another, and with France and Provence.

This middle region of ballad poetry, between Spain and Italy, is well defined. It should be noted, however, that the limit seems to be much clearer and sharper in the east than in the west. The popular lyric of Italy seems to imply a distaste for ballads, south of the Apennines, but in Spain things are different. The national *romances* of Castile, it is true, belong to no other country, and they have a history and a growth of their own, different from other ballads. But at the same time there are among the Spanish ballads not a few that

[1] In what follows, some things have been repeated from two papers on the Danish Ballads in the *Scottish Historical Review*, July 1904 and July 1908.

[2] *Tratado de los romances viejos*, 2 vols., 1903, 1906.

[3] *La poesia popolare italiana*, 1878; seconda edizione accresciuta, 1906.

are distinct from the Castilian national *romances* and related to the ballads of France. And the Portuguese ballads belong mostly to the French group.[1] So that it might be advisable to take in the whole of the Spanish peninsula, and not Catalonia merely, along with the French province; only marking out (a large exception) the Castilian ballads on national subjects such as have descended from older heroic poetry about the *Infantes de Lara* or the *Cid* or others. Then the ballad-region of the Latin races in the West would include every land, except Italy south of the Apennines. One may look on this ballad poetry as strongest and most flourishing between Italy and Spain, the Castilian national ballads remaining as before a class by themselves.

2. Teutonic The ballads of the Teutonic languages fall into three groups, English, Danish and German. The English are all together in Child's five volumes, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 1882–98, and also conveniently in one volume, where every ballad but not every variant is given (ed. Helen Child Sargent and George Lyman Kittredge, 1905). The Danish ballads are in Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, 5 vols., 1853-90, continued by Axel Olrik, *Danske Ridderviser*, 1895-1907 (in progress). For German, there is Erk and Bohme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (3 vols., 1893, 1894); and Uhland's two volumes may be taken as representative *Deutsche Volkslieder*, 1844–5.

The ballads of Norway,[2] Sweden,[3] the Faroes,[4] and Iceland,[5] are not distinct from the Danish; nor those of the Netherlands[6] from the German All these groups are more or less closely related Compared with the German ballads, the English and Danish form one body, owing to the larger number of common themes, and still more to likeness in poetical form. The ballad burden which is universal in Danish and very common in English is not known or not used in the same way in German. More particularly, the English and Danish forms agree as against the German in their use of the inset burden.—

with a heigh ho, the wind and the rain,

and sometimes there is very close likeness in detail. A Shetland ballad, derived somehow or other from the mediaeval romance of *King Orfeo*, has a Norse burden of this sort, not understood by the reciter (Child, No 19) —

[1] Hardung, *Romanceiro portuguez*, Leipzig, 1877
[2] Landstad, 1853, S Bugge, 1858
[3] Geijer and Afzelius, 1814–16, 1880, Arwidsson, 1834–42.
[4] Hammershaimb, 1851–5 [5] Grundtvig and Jon Sigurðsson, 1854–85.
[6] Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Niederländische Volkslieder*, 1856.

Der lived a king inta da aste
Scowan urla grun,
Der lived a lady in da wast
Whar giorten han grun oarlac

In spite of the close connexion between Denmark and Germany, the German ballads have had comparatively little influence in Denmark, there is a much closer relation between Denmark and France. Danish adaptations of German ballads have been detected by tricks of phrasing, easily recognizable, e. g the *rhetorical question*, of which the most striking instance is in a Dutch version of the *Königskinder*, the ballad of Hero and Leander In the plot of this the lovers are ruined by a spiteful nun, who puts up false lights in the window, and the Dutch ballad renders it thus —

What stuck she up? three candles,
Three candles of twelve to the pound
(Wat stac si op? drie keersen,
Drie keersen van twaelf int pont.)

When a question of this sort comes in a Danish ballad it is at once detected as strange (Olrik, *Udvalg*, p. 147) The other favourite device is the 'said he' or 'said she' put between two vocatives —

'O moder', sede se, 'moder!'

And this, among other things, is made to prove the foreign origin of the Danish *Skjon Anna*[1] It is not true Danish

'Moder!' sagde hun, 'Frue!'

and

'Kongen!' sagde hun, 'Herre!'

correspond to the Dutch

'Och moeder!' zeide ze, 'landsvrouwe!'

and

. . 'Koning Alewijn!' zeide ze, 'heere!'[2]

The relation of Danish and French ballads is of a different sort Some few Danish ballads are translated from German, and without much difficulty proved to be translations.[3] On the other hand, a large number of Danish ballads correspond to French ballads more

[1] Cf. Steenstrup, *Vore Folkeviser* (1891), p 103 sq The same sort of phrase is common in the early romance of *King Horn*, e g. l. 677 C 'Lemman, quaþ he, dere.'

[2] Hoffmann, No. 11, *Schon Adelheid*, Grundtvig, V, p. 40. The Danish ballad was translated by Jamieson and compared (in a letter to Scott) with *Lord Thomas and Fair Annie* as given in the *Border Minstrelsy* (*Popular Ballads and Songs . . . with Translations of similar pieces from the ancient Danish language*, 1806, vol. ii, p. 84).

[3] Cf. Steenstrup, op. cit., p. 89 sqq.

or less closely, in ways hard to explain The most notable thing in this part of the history seems to be that there is more correspondence between Danish and French than between Danish and English. Ballads are found in the Danish and French groups which are not found in English, e. g.

The Dead Mother's Return, DgF. 89, translated by Jamieson (Svend Dyring) in the notes to the *Lady of the Lake*, cf *Les Ourphelins*, Arbaud 73, and *La Mère ressuscitée*, Rolland, No clxxviii

The Milk-white Doe, DgF 58, and Olrik, *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg*, 1899. Cf. *La biche blanche*, Doncieux, No. xvi

The Sister rescued from a Tyrannical Husband, DgF 62. Cf. *La maumariée vengée par ses frères*, Doncieux, No. xii.

The Mariners in Distress (Dei frearlause menn), Bugge, *Gamle norske Folkeviser* (1858), No. xvii. Cf. *La courte paille*, Doncieux, No. xvii.

The Icelandic version of *La courte paille* is specially noted by M. Jeanroy in his book on old French lyric poetry [1] on account of the form of its refrain. It corresponds, he shows, very exactly to the old French *rondet* And it seems to be generally undoubted that the Danish ballads and their Scandinavian relatives have taken up the fashion of the old French dancing songs, a fashion which began its widely extended vogue, along with many other new fashions, about the year 1100. Many of the English ballads, and all those which have a refrain, belong to the same order, though the Danish group has kept much more of the dance tradition. The old choral ballad—dance and song together—is still preserved in the Faroe Islands.[2]

The fashion of dancing and singing *caroles* on the Saints' Vigils (wake-nights) is proved by many pieces of evidence, [3] and though of course there were other places and times for dancing and singing, it seems to have been at wakes especially that the ballad was wanted. The Icelandic *vikivaki*, the Danish *Vaagenætter*,[4] and many phrases in the Danish and Norse ballads have kept a record of this.

> Ti vokunne klæest ho Tore
> *Ró ut ærlege menn!*
> den greivedottere góe
> *Á den jomfrú!*

('Thora dresses for the wake, the Count's fair daughter') DgF. IV, p. 478.

[1] *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, 1889, p 415

[2] Hjalmar Thuren, *Folkesangen paa Færoerne*, 1908

[3] e g. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, R S. ii p 120, *Liber Exemplorum Dunelm* ed A G Little (1908), p 109, *De ludis inordinandis*

[4] A Olrik, *Udvalg*, Introduction, p 6

The fashion is that which is recorded in the story of the Dancers of Kolbigk, which comes from the eleventh century. They were dancing in the churchyard on Christmas night and a judgement fell on them so that they could not stop. One of the versions of the story, which is traced by Gaston Paris from England to Lorraine,[1] has a quotation, in Latin, from the song the dancers sang —

Ductor furoris nostri alludens fatale carmen orditur Gerlevus
Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat sibi Mersuindem formosam,
Quid stamus? cur non imus?

Istud ioculare inceptum iusto Dei iudicio miserabile nobis est factum. Istud enim carmen noctes et dies incessabiliter girando per continuum redintegravimus annum. Semper vero insultabat nostrae poenae cantilenae regressus: *Quid stamus? cur non imus?* qui nec restare nec circulum nostrum mutare potuimus.

And Gaston Paris shows the likeness of this couplet and refrain to the old French verse —

Rainaus o s'amie chevauchent par un pré,
Tote nuit chevauchent jusqu'au jor clair
Je n'avrai ja mais joie de vos amer.

In the Asturias there are still, or were not so long ago, ballads sung at dances, 'on pilgrimages (*romerías*) and like occasions'. In the old Portuguese lyric poetry there are some very pleasant examples of the true ballad style, such as those written for diversion by King Denis (1279–1325) and preserved along with his more elaborate poems of the Provençal school.—

De que morredes, filha, a do corpo velido?
— Madre, moiro d'amores que mi deu meu amigo
Alva e vai liero!
De que morredes, filha, a do corpo louçano?
— Madre, moiro d'amores que mi deu meu amado
Alva e vai liero![2]

But while the ballad custom and the form of ballad verse can be traced back thus far, the copies of the ballads themselves are comparatively recent. With the exception of *Judas* (thirteenth century) there is nothing in Child older than the fifteenth century (*Stephen* and *Robin and Gandeleyn*). Nor are there earlier documents in other countries

[1] *Les Danseurs maudits, légende allemande du XI^e siècle*, 1900 (from the *Journal des Savants*).

[2] F. A. Wolf, *Studien*, p. 708, pp. 739–40, *Das Liederbuch des Konigs Denis von Portugal*, ed. Henry R. Lang (1894), p. xcv, p. 75, v. inf., p. 205.

The oldest Danish MS collection is about 1550 (when the earliest Spanish *Romanceros* were printed), though, just as in English, there are some few earlier remnants one ballad (a silly story) *Ridderen i Hjorteham*, DgF. 67, about 1450.

If ballads are older than this, how is their antiquity to be proved? The evidence is strongest in Denmark. There is a proof from language, e. g. in Dr Axel Olrik's examination of the ballad which corresponds to our *Earl Brand* and our *Douglas Tragedy*. Dr. Olrik has shown [1] that the differences of rhyme in various versions of this ballad may be explained and solved by restoring old Danish forms of words that have been altered in later Danish, the Icelandic version of the ballad is used by Dr. Olrik to help in the restoration.

The evidence from diction in the ballads has to be carefully watched. Antique words and phrases do not prove, straight off, that the poem is antique which uses them, e. g. the alliterative poem of *Scottish Field*, on the battle of Flodden, has many old words, *wye*, *freke*, and others, which live in alliterative verse for a thousand years, and obviously can of themselves tell very little as to the date of the poem in which they occur. The first page of *Beowulf* has at least two common types of phrase, about which we can only say, when we find them later, that they show how long-enduring a fashion of this sort may be One is the phrase of the opening, 'We heard tell,' which is found in other words at the beginning of the *Hildebrandslied* and in the *Lament of Oddrun*, in *Muspilli*, and often elsewhere. As it is found also in Gaelic in the *Dean of Lismore's Book* it is plainly part of the nature of heroic poetry, with nothing in it to prove a date. Nor can more be made out of the second instance *blæd wide sprang* 'renown sprang wide.' It is common in ballads and in the longer romances as well, in *Ipomedon*, 'This word sprang wide withall,' and at the beginning of the Danish ballad of *Ranild Jonsson*—

> Det springer nu saa vide om land
> at Ranild er tagen til fange—

and in many other places

The corruption of 'middle-earth' into 'middlarf' in Herd's version of *Clerk Saunders* has spoilt one of the most beautiful things in ballad poetry, the ghostly regret for the living world—

> Cocks are crowing on merry middle-earth,
> I wot the wild fowl boding Day.

[1] *Riboldsvisen* in *Danske Studier*, 1906, p 175 sqq., an essay which starts from a review of Dr Ernst von der Recke's *Nogle Folkevisseredaktioner*—a book to be remembered

But this does not prove antiquity, for 'middle-earth', though a fairly ancient term and much older as a piece of mythology, is not an unknown word in later English. It is interesting to find in the ballad of *Gawain's Wedding* (Child 31) a phrase—

That bride soe bright in bower—

which comes in the old Northern poetry—

Mær var ek meyja
móðr mik fæddi
biort í buri—

but here again all that is proved is the tenacity and perseverance of the old poetical diction. On the other hand, there are some instances of vocabulary which have been used in proving dates. A crucial example seems to be given in a Danish ballad, *Hr Bjorn paa Sonderborg*, DgF. 473 F., which has preserved the old official name *Stallari*, 'Marshal,' *Stabularius*. This name and office (the editor explains) was disused by Valdemar Sen about 1200 and replaced by 'Kansler', 'Marsk', and 'Drost'—Chancellor, Marshal, and Seneschal. It is remarkable that while this old word is wanting in the sixteenth-century versions of the ballad it is found in an eighteenth-century broadsheet copy and in oral tradition in South Jutland in 1895—

Der rider han Hr Bjorn Stolden
og gjæsted den lidel Kirstin.

There are not a few other cases where modern versions taken from recitation are older and better than the MSS. two or three centuries earlier.[1]

The best evidence of age is given by the Danish ballads on historical subjects.[2] This evidence as to the age of the poems is internal, and possibly to some students may seem wanting in cogency. Those who use it are bound to prove that these historical ballads—or the majority of them, at any rate—follow closely upon the events themselves.

On the other hand, it is not easy to find in Denmark the books out of which that splendid succession of ballads could have been made. A doubtful case is pointed out by Steenstrup,[3] where the words of a ballad and those of a chronicle (Sven Aageson's) are in close

[1] e. g. *Karl Hittebarn*, DgF. 294, where precedence is given to a copy from recitation, dated 1868, Soro, Sælland.

[2] Cf Steenstrup, *Vore Folkeviser* (1891), p 315 sqq

[3] Op cit, p 220 sq, regarding the ballad on the murder of Knud Magnusson at Roskilde, 1157:

Udi Dannemark er kommen konger tre
—Der herre Knud lille bleff veyenn

agreement, and generally it is not maintained that ballads on twelfth-century personages have come down from the twelfth century. But from 1200 onward there seems to be a nearer connexion between the facts and the poetry. And at the same time written history, after Saxo, begins to wither up.

The chief argument for the age and un-bookish nature of these ballads is that the subjects are often taken in different ways and treated with different poetical motives. The story of the great Marshal Stig Anderson, 'Marstig' as he is commonly called, is passed through a number of variations. Some considerable length of time is required for all these, and on the whole the most satisfactory view is to hold that the ballads of Marstig, like the ballad of the Earl of Moray, grew out of the reality with no help from any chronicle in prose.

This cycle of ballads has been carefully examined by many critics, most recently by Dr. Heusler in his *Lied und Epos*. They are of the greatest interest in all manner of ways—not least on account of the tragic sense in them. There is room here for a short summary.

First comes a ballad on the murder of King Eric Klipping on the night of St. Cecilia's Day, Nov. 22, 1286 The burden of this is 'All the land in danger' (*Men nu stander Landet i Vaade*). It begins·

> There are so many in Denmark
> would all be Lords and Kings
> (Der er saa mange i Danemark
> som alle vil Herrer være),

and the ballad hardly goes beyond this simple motive, the treachery of the ambitious great men, the danger to the kingdom, the pity of the King's death None of the conspirators is named. No one is named, except the King's man Ranild Jonson, who was a villainous person.

As a matter of fact, Stig Anderson (with others) was outlawed after the murder at Finderup, a few years later (in 1290) he took the small island of Hjelm and made it a piratical stronghold. This (the second stage) is turned into a ballad without much regard for history or for the murdered king either. Marsk Stig is the hero. First come his dreams told to his wife and interpreted, as similar dreams are in the older poetry, and others in other ballads. He rides to the Parliament (the Thing) where the inquest on the King's death is to be held. There he is insulted by the Queen, and returns the insult. She tells him scornfully that he is making himself King of Denmark; he answers that the Seneschal her lover has taken the place of the King. Then the young King breaks out in anger and banishes Marsk Stig, and Marsk Stig threatens that if he is outlawed he will win his bread

from Denmark So he makes his pirate station on the island, and the Danish yeoman smarts :—

> The goodman goes to the field abroad
> All for to sow his corn,
> And ever he prays 'God send us help,
> Since Helm has gotten a horn!'

(and the overword is '*My good lord young Sir Marstig*').

In the third place, another ballad has taken up the plot of Tarquin, or of King Edward and the Countess of Salisbury, as the story is told, tragically, by Jehan Le Bel. When Marsk Stig was away, the King came and dishonoured his wife When her husband comes home she will not go out to meet him, she will not rise from her chair when he enters, her answer, in eight lines, to his question is one of the noble things of ballad poetry 'When you went away I was a Knight's Lady, now I am Queen of Denmark and find it hard to praise. Never shall you sleep in my arms till you have slain King Eric who wrought this grief'

The end seems rather weak (like Jehan Le Bel's story also) Marsk Stig upbraids and shames the King, but does not kill him. The refrain is, 'But my Lady sits in Sælland with many a sorrow and pain' (*Men Fruen hun sidder i Sælland, saa mangt der hun sorger*).

Last in the series comes a very remarkable poem called by Dr. Olrik 'the long ballad' (*den lange Vise*), and taken by Dr. Heusler and others as an example of what can be done when shorter ballads are stitched or otherwise combined together to make one longer comprehensive poem. The result, as Dr. Heusler proves, is not to make an epic poem, though it runs to more than a hundred quatrains; but the poem is honourable for all that.

It begins with the dreams and their interpretations Marsk Stig is summoned to court and sent out on an expedition with the King's banner. The King goes to Marsk Stig's house, and dishonours his wife Ingeborg,[1] her words on her husband's return are nearly as in the shorter ballad. The defiance follows, with the technical term *undsige* for casting off allegiance—an important word and idea in old Danish politics.[2]

Then there is a new start and a new personage introduced—Rane, Ingeborg's sister's son, with whom she plots the death of the King. So Ranild Jonson, the knavish attendant of the King in the earlier ballad, is worked into this more elaborate scheme.

[1] In one version, through deceit and a lying story of her husband's death.

[2] The idea is found elsewhere, of course; very clearly in the Castilian ballads.

Then follows a strange adventure. King Eric goes out hunting, and at the end of the day finds himself alone and bewildered in the wood He comes to a little house where there is fire and light, the house of an elfin damsel, a laughing lady. This looks like the deadly enchantress of *Clerk Colvill* and other ballads (*la belle dame sans mercy*), but she does no wrong to King Eric, though she warns him of his death, she does not beguile him like other fairy queens, but escapes from his embrace, and the house vanishes and the King is left alone again in the forest. Here Rane finds him and guides him to the town. In the house there he is murdered by Marsk Stig and his company Afterwards comes the riding of Marsk Stig to the Parliament, the railing of the Queen and his answer, his outlawry as in the older ballad, and the horn of Hjelm and the yeoman's prayer against the rovers as before.

It is difficult to see how all this various ballad poetry on the years 1286–90 can be understood except as coming from poetical journalism to begin with, poetical rendering of matters which were vividly felt at the time.

The ballad of *Nils Ebbeson* (1340) is an example of a different sort.[1] In the poems about the Marshal Stig Anderson, only the general facts are preserved. At first the motive is near to reality; the first ballad of Finderup is a lament for the King, a complaint against the ambitious nobles. In the other ballad, the outlawry of Marsk Stig and his Viking settlement in Hjelm are not greatly distorted. But the story grows, and takes up other stories, wandering romantic stuff, tragic situations not in the original reality. In earlier days and in the older heroic poetry the stories of Ermanaric, Gundahari, Theodoric grew in the same way. The different ballads of Marsk Stig may be compared with the different renderings of the Nibelung plot, in the 'Elder Edda' and elsewhere.

But *Nils Ebbeson*, though it has some poetical deviations in it, is meant to keep closely to the truth, and it comes very near success.[2] It is more like the *Lay of Maldon* in character than any of the Nibelung poems, it was composed immediately after the events and it is full of the spirit of that day, the national rising in Jutland against the foreigners from Holstein

[1] Cf A. D Jorgensen, *De historiske Folkeviser og Nils Ebbesen* in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1891

[2] Cf Olrik, *Udvalg*, Introduction, Steenstrup, op cit, Jorgensen, op cit (an answer to Steenstrup) and *Bidrag til Nordens Historie i Middelalderen*, 1871, Erslev, in *Hist Tidsskrift*, 1898, Sofus Larsen, *Nils Ebbesens Vise*, *Aarb. for nord Oldk* 1903

At the same time, like the *Maldon* poem, it manages to bring in the right heroic motives, more particularly the independence of the free man, and along with that the duty of loyalty. 'Grev Gert', Count Gerard, 'Gerardus magnificus comes Holtzatorum', was killed at night (Apr. 1, 1340) in his lodging at Randers by Niels Ebbeson and his men, who spread confusion in the town and get away, throwing down the bridge behind them. In the ballad the motives are clearly brought out. Count Gerard wishes to insist on feudal law, which is not that of Denmark; against him Niels Ebbeson explains that in Denmark a vassal may 'take leave' (*tage Orlov*) of his lord, may renounce (*undsige*) his lord when he chooses so to do. For this the Count threatens him with hanging or banishment, so Niels goes home and calls out his men to the attack.

For the events of 1340 there is a good deal of historical evidence apart from the ballad. But it is impossible to refuse the ballad its place as an independent version of what happened. It has no nearer relation to the Lubeck or the Holstein Chronicles than the Maldon poem has to the English Chronicle for 991 or 993.

The ballads of Marsk Stig show how readily an historical fact might be turned into tragic romance. The ballad of Niels Ebbeson proves how well the ruling motives of earlier heroic ages might be expressed in ballad form. The action is of the same sort as in many older stories; not unlike the well-known heroic story in the English Chronicle of Cyneheard's attack, in 786, on Cynewulf of Wessex at Merton.

The motive of loyalty so well represented in the old English history appears unchanged in the Danish ballad. Niels Ebbeson getting away from Randers is hindered by his brother-in-law, and calls to his brother-in-law to let him pass on account of their relationship, he is answered almost in the very words of the old English story 'I know I am near to thy kin, but thou hast slain my lord and I may not let thee go.'[1]

It is true that internal evidence may be deceptive, it is certain that

[1] *N. loq* Hor du det Hr Ove Haas
lad mig min Vej bortfare,
du vedst fuldvel, du est min Maag,
du maa mig intet skade

O. loq Alt er det Sanden, jeg har din Frænke
og jeg din Maag skal være,
du har nu slaget min Herre ihjel,
jeg maa det ikke gjore

'Maag' and 'Herre' are 'mæg' and 'hlaford' in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.—'Ond þa cuædon hie þæt him nænig mæg leofra nære þonne hiera hlaford, ond hie næfre his banan folgian noldon.'

ballads exist whose themes are taken from books, yet whose style and form show hardly a trace of any bookish origin. Such is the Shetland ballad of *Orpheus*, the Icelandic of *Tristram*, the Danish of *Paris and Helen*. But even granting the utmost to a sceptic who would doubt the age of the historical ballads, the sceptic still has to explain the endurance and persistence of the ballad form. The ballad form in different parts of the world can take up the story of Orpheus or of Helen and turn it into its own likeness. This ballad form cannot be new when it first appears, it must have a long history The greater its success in transforming bookish matter to the likeness of a ballad, the stronger is the proof of its age Ballad poetry is a long established custom before it can produce such things as these

One of the difficulties about the ballads is that while so much in them seems to be ancient or even primitive, the rhyming ballad verse is comparatively new. Some of the common ballad devices, particularly that of repetition, seem to be as old as anything in humanity, and a large number of ballad subjects are no less widely spread. But the form of verse is not old. In the Teutonic languages, the first appearance of the new rhyming measures can be roughly dated; they can hardly be older than the eleventh century. How did the folklore themes, the ballad habits of phrasing, find expression before the rhyming stanzas and the new sort of refrains were introduced from France? Where were the ballads before they were made?

There is no definite answer to be given, but it is well to recognize what is proved by the older Teutonic poetry, especially by the Anglo-Saxon, that an old civilization with an elaborate literature of its own came to an end in the eleventh century, and that there is a great division about that time between the earlier and the later Middle Ages, and great difficulty in understanding the transition. Modern poetry, including the ballads, begins about the year 1100, we are cut off from the time before that, and from its tastes in poetry, as we are not from any of the rhyming poetry—French, Provençal, Italian, German, English—from that time onward.

But it should be remembered that part of the difficulty in understanding the former age (roughly, before 1100) comes from the mere accident that so very little of its poetry has been preserved, and, in that little, so very much less of the popular unambitious sort For the later Middle Ages (1200-1500), though there is not enough, there is a very much larger amount of popular verse in existence.

But here and there in the earlier period one discovers the same sort of popular tastes as are found much more fully represented in the later.

There were the same comic stories, only, whereas the later Middle Ages got them in the easy form of *fabliaux*, and in large numbers, the earlier time has only preserved a few by turning them experimentally and as a sort of literary game into Latin verse.[1]

It seems a fair conclusion that the difference between the earlier and the later Middle Ages—e.g. between 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Middle-English'—is *in some respects* not as great as the existing remains would make us imagine. Nothing can do away with the enormous difference, in literary ambition and aim and style, between *Beowulf* and *Bevis of Hampton*. But it is pretty certain that beneath this difference there was the same kind of folklore. The ancient Germans knew the story of *Big Claus and Little Claus*, they had the same jokes as the *fabliaux* and the *Decameron*, though by the literary fashions and conditions of their time they were not encouraged to put these things in writing, and only did so occasionally and accidentally. Later, and mainly through the influence of France and the much less pretentious narrative forms of France, it was easier for folklore to get into literature.

It is a fact that many poetical subjects have been transformed from the old Teutonic verse into later rhyming forms, sometimes into pure ballads. Not to speak of the *Nibelungen*, or the German-Danish ballad of *Grimild's Revenge*, there is the broadsheet rhyme of the death of Ermanaric, 'de konink van Armentriken,' printed in 1560, a thousand years after the notice of the same Gothic story in Jordanes. The Norwegian ballad of *Thor's Hammer* agrees in substance with the *Þrymskviða*. It is possible for themes of the early centuries to come through all the changes of language and poetical taste, and to accept the comparatively modern rhyming forms of the *Nibelungen* in one instance, of the *Hammer* ballad in another. So there is nothing unreasonable in thinking that other ballad-plots may have come through in the same way, though nothing happens to be extant to show them in their older form.[2]

In this country, the folklore of ballads has been described by Mr. Andrew Lang[3] in essays to which more readers and writers are

[1] *Modus Florum*, *Modus Liebinc*, *Unibos* (Müllenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler*, Grimm and Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte*). In one passage in the 'Elder Edda' Odin appears in the character of the *Baffled Knight*.

[2] In this connexion one may remember the most interesting references to German, Danish, and Spanish ballads in Panzer's *Hilde-Gudrun*, 1901.

[3] 'Ballads' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; 'Ballads' in Ward's *English Poets*, I. (1880), 'The Ballads, Scottish and English' in Chambers's *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*, ed. David Patrick, I. p. 520 sqq. (1901).

indebted than ever have been able to express their thanks properly. The ballads have modes of thought and favourite ideas such as are found over all the world, and they draw from the same sources as the folk tales. They belong to the people, it is said, and the people are in some sense or other the authors of the ballads. The term 'communal authorship' is used by some writers about the ballads, not always in the same sense.[1]

Here, under the head of *folklore*, there are two different things to be considered, first, the traditional subject, and next the share of 'the people', or the community, in giving it poetical form.

As to the subjects there can be no doubt that there is freedom of communication—a free passage—between the popular tales (*Marchen*) and the ballads, with this most important condition, that nothing shall be taken up by a ballad except what is fit for the ballad form. The meaning of this is that ballad poetry has a mind of its own, quite as definitely as Greek or French tragedy, and will not take up a subject which is too complicated or too large. Thus a number of fairy tales are unfit for ballads because there is too much matter in them, too many adventures For the same reason, the ballad is generally different in plot from the narrative romances. Further, the ballad has no fondness for the happy ending, which is generally right in the fairy tale. The tragic motive is as common in the ballads as it is in the older heroic poetry, and the modern Greek name for a ballad, τραγοῦδι, might be taken also for those of other languages. The best of them are lyrical tragedies.

But this difference in spirit and purpose between the popular fairy tale and the ballad does not hinder transactions between fairy tales and ballad poetry, when the fairy tales have the right sort of commodity to offer And there are many folklore things which seem to belong more properly to the popular ballad than to the prose story:—

There are certain incidents, like that of the return of the dead mother to her oppressed children; like the sudden recovery of a fickle bridegroom's heart by the patient affection of his first love; like the adventure of May Colvin with a lover who has slain seven women and tries to slay her; like the story of the bride who pretends to be dead that she may escape from a detested marriage, which are in all European countries the theme of popular song.[2]

It is possible to find those themes apart from the ballad form, but it will be generally found also that the ballad form is what they want to bring out their meaning and value.

[1] Cf. Francis B. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry* (1901), especially ch. v.

[2] A. Lang, in Ward's *Poets*, I p 103.

Apart from the complete folk tale there are incidents and machines that may be taken freely by the ballad poet and employed in his own way. Lately (by Serendipity) I came upon an example. Dr. Axel Olrik, in a paper in *Danske Studier*,[1] on the old Northern ball-game, has put together a number of ballads which use in one way or other the incident of the boy who plays roughly, and is told by his companions to go and avenge his father. In Irish, this is part of the story of *Maelduin* There are four Norwegian examples, five Faroese, two or three Danish.

Child Sigurd (*Sigurd svein*) goes to the playing-field where the King's small boys are playing at the ball, and he plays them to rights, he struck one under the ear so that they laughed at him. Sigurd struck with the ball (he was stout of growth), sore hurt were the King's boys, and the blood springs out on the earth. Then out and spoke the small boys, so angry were they 'It is fitter thou ask after thy father than hurt us so' Sigurd flings away the play-ball, he has no wish to play more, and so he went to his fair mother, and his face was wan.

The following passage is given by Mr. R. A Nicholson in his *Literary History of the Arabs* (p. 94) —

He grew up strong in the arms, and one day he had a tussle with a youth of the Banú Zafar, who said to him 'By God, thou wouldst do better to turn the strength of thine arms against the slayers of thy father and grandfather instead of putting it forth upon me.' 'And who are their slayers?' 'Ask thy mother, she will tell thee.' So Qays took his sword and set its hilt on the ground and its edge between his two breasts, and said to his mother. 'Who killed my father and my grandfather?'

In New Guinea it is much the same:—

Now as the child grew bigger he grew also fierce and violent. Day by day when playing with the village children he would ever strive to be chief in the games, and desired that all should bend to his will. And it came to pass on a certain day that he, as was his wont, was beating and stoning the children that pleased him not, and one bolder than the rest cried 'Why dost thou ever beat and ill-treat us? Is it thy vengeance for thy three kinsfolk who are dead?'[2]

There is no need to prove the fact that there is a strong folklore element in the matter of the ballads, things are more difficult with respect to the form. Ballads may be made out of common plots and incidents, but how do they get their poetical form, and in what sense is communal authorship a fact?

With a certain class of subject one can understand communal

[1] 1906; p. 91, *Drengene paa Legevolden.*

[2] Annie Ker, *Papuan Fairy Tales* (Macmillan, 1910); p 40, *Kakukaku and Taureboga*; cf. also, p. 61, *How the twins killed Manubada.*

authorship, even if one has never seen it working. The theme is given out—a success to be praised, a butt to be ridiculed, a grief to be lamented—and many people may take part, adding verses all on the common motive.[1] In what order their several contributions are arranged is not of very great importance. But where there is a story the case is different Where there is a definite plot, this must surely reduce the communal share and increase the responsibility of one individual member of the community. A ballad is not the same thing as a fairy tale. The tale may be told in any language, in any style, without losing itself. But the ballad is a poem, i. e. it has a form of its own, belonging to a particular order of poetry. Much in the ballads is common folklore. But the ballads can also take up new subjects (e. g. the *Battle of Otterburn*, or *Jamie Telfer*); how are these to be managed by 'the people', if 'the people' are the authors of ballads?

At present it does not seem to be maintained by any one that ballads with a definite story or plot (as distinct from laments or lampoons or rejoicings) are really made by a crowd. But it seems to be generally taken for granted that 'the people' exist, and that it is unnecessary to prove this dogma. Who are the People?

It is assumed too readily that there always is a 'people' or populace, distinct from the gentry, simple people in possession of folklore and the forms of thought required for ballad poetry—the love of the number three, of gold and silver, of verses repeating the same thing in slightly varied words or rhymes.

But different nations have different kinds of populace, and some have none at all It is possible for a nation to be gentle all through —'the Quality' not a separate caste from the Quantity. Iceland is one such, and Wales is another, with regard to literature. In Wales the popular taste in poetry is courtly, if 'the courtly maker' is to be judged by subtilty of artifice. In Iceland the rules of the poetical game are much less exacting than in Wales, but much more than in England, and the rules are generally understood through all the country. The most popular form for many centuries in Iceland was *Rímur*—long narrative poems using varied and difficult types of verse, under definite rules of prosody. The *Rímur* on the Gowrie Conspiracy were edited lately at Oxford by Mr. W. A Craigie in an excellent book which gives the key to this sort of poetry. Mr. Craigie says in his introduction, 'the *Rímur* may be described as ballads.' Is this fair?

[1] One would like to know more of the Faroese *Trawlaravísa* of which Mr. Thuren speaks (op. cit., p 35), a ballad on the English and American trawlers who have taken the place of the Algerine rovers in those seas.

Is it not the irony of a disillusioned lexicographer, who knows that the human race (*diese verdammte Race*) will use any word in any way it pleases, without regard to philology or any other science? The Icelandic *Rímur* might be called ballads, but that is not their right name. They have taken the place of ballads in Iceland, but they are long elaborate poems, divided into several books, with a change of metre in each book, and the metres all correct and none of them too easy. They are generally paraphrases of prose documents (e. g. *Skotlands Rímur*, wholly taken from the Danish translation of the Scotch official narrative of the Gowrie plot), and they are full of rhetorical ornaments.

It is interesting to compare the *Rímur* with the Faroese ballads. The Faroe islanders are as much at one among themselves as the Icelanders in literary taste. But they have put all their hearts into ballad poetry, keeping up the old ballad customs as no other people have. At the same time they, like the Icelanders, have a liking for long stories, and some of their ballads are enormous. Also like the Icelanders they have made great use of books, so much so that it has come to be a commonplace to begin a ballad with a reference to the book from which the story is taken[1] There are influences here, dragging the lyrical ballad over into the other species, mere narrative. Yet in spite of all those interferences, the ballad quality is kept in the Faroese poetry, and the difference from the Icelandic *Rímur* is very great.

In another country it can be proved how various the popular taste in poetry may be, by comparing the ballads of Piedmont with the lyrical stanzas of Tuscany or Sicily. The people of Tuscany seem to be capable of stanzas which in point of art would be dangerous company for a good deal of rather ambitious English verse. Their *rispetti* have more likeness to Shakespeare's sonnets than to *Sir Patrick Spens* or *Binnorie*, especially in the effect of their opening lines:—

Quando sentirai dir che sarò morta,

or

O Sol che te ne vai, che te ne vai!

or

Non ti maravigliar se tu sei bella

In Piedmont, instead, the openings are such as these:—

Sun tre giuvenin de scola, ch'a Tuluza volo ande

which is the *Clerk's two sons of Owsenford*), or

Sun tre frateli, l'an ch'na sorela a maridà

(*La Sorella vendicata*).

[1] Cf. G. Vigfusson, *Sturlunga*, Prol. clii

These popular ballads of Piedmont, or those of the *Border Minstrelsy*, may be as different from literary poems as the stories of Grimm from the *Sorrows of Werther*. But there is a fallacy in arguing from the more recent states of ballad tradition—as shown e. g in Kristensen's researches in Jutland, in Scott's Liddesdale raids, or even in the Percy MS.—back to the times in which the ballads were flourishing

Denmark is the key of the position. There is no better account of the modern life of ballads than that given by E. T. Kristensen, one of the greatest of collectors. In Jutland in the nineteenth century the ballads were alive among the people, and along with folklore stories (*Æventyr*, *Marchen*) they served in all sorts of ways for entertainment—repeated by women at their work, or to children to keep them quiet 'in huts where poor men lie', or on the tramp over the moors But this is not the original life of the Danish ballads. We know that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were often copied out by gentlefolk, by many ladies, and when they were first printed it was through the favour of the Queen.[1]

The Danish historians are agreed that the ballads were originally, and for long, the pastime of the gentry. The Faroe islanders in their ballad-dances have preserved what was the favourite amusement in the old Danish country-houses. This came in as a fashion first among gentlefolk. The 'popular' features here were not derived from the Danish 'populace'; or, alternatively, it may be argued that 'populace' here includes the whole nation.

And it is possible to understand why it should be so. There were no other, more ambitious, literary forms to depreciate the ballads. Obviously, where there is a strongly prevalent literary ambition, the folklore elements in the national mind (i. e. in the common stock of ideas) will be either neglected (as in Latin poetry for the most part) or transformed (as in the *Odyssey*, in *Beowulf*, in the Arthurian romances), or treated in a humorous observant way, as in Burns's *Hallowe'en*; Burns was an aristocrat. It is fairly easy thus to tell

[1] Cf. Jamieson, *Popular Ballads*, ii. p. 99. 'Of these [the *Kæmpe Viser*] the first centenary was published in 1591 and dedicated to Sophia, Queen of Denmark, &c., by the Rev Andrew Soffrenson [i e Vedel] who seems to have been a man of learning and respectability, and in habits of intimacy with his celebrated countryman Tyge Brahe, whom he calls "that worthy honourable and well-born man, my affectionate master and good old friend", with whom it appears that the Queen happening to be storm-stayed during three days at Knutstrup, in 1586, had chatted away the time very agreeably, *paa Bordet*, and to one of these conversations we are indebted for the publication of the *Kæmpe Viser*.' Cf also H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances MSS in the British Museum*, ii. 81.

the countries and the times where literary ideals have depressed and discouraged the popular forms of poetry The greater the success of the conscious literary artists, Dante or Chaucer, the less room, the less value, for poetry like that of the ballads There are exceptions, fortunately, like the ballads of King Denis of Portugal, and old Provençal and German songs in which the courtly verse of the troubadours or minnesingers is exchanged for simpler forms. But these remain exceptional And not only is the popular verse generally eclipsed by the more ambitious kinds, it is also in many cases altered by them, as in the case of the Tuscan *rispetti*.

But Denmark is not like the other countries and languages; it has no one to compare with the troubadours or minnesingers, with Dante or Chaucer Denmark had scarcely any poetry, except the ballads. Not only was there no great author there (nor in Sweden either) to be compared with those of other lands, but there was not even any considerable amount of the rough work such as is found in plenty in France and Italy, Germany and England, in the Middle Ages. There was room for the ballads, and the ballads took up all the room, with scarcely a challenge from any other competitor. The imaginative life of Denmark in the Middle Ages is all of the kind which is called 'popular', i e. the term 'people' or 'populace', if it is to be used at all, does not here mean the cottagers, the peasants, the wayfaring men Every one, as far as poetry is concerned, belongs to the 'folk'.

The distinction between 'courtly' and 'popular' which is so obvious and necessary in the history of literature rather obscures the importance of the smaller gentry and their tastes. Franklins and squires may have souls of their own; and Danish society, the historians tell us, was largely made up of small freeholders. There seem to be at least two rather valuable bodies of poetry in Europe which belong to this rank of ordinary gentlefolk, neither courtly nor boorish the Danish ballads, and the Spanish *romances*, of which the Spanish drama is in many ways the true successor.

Are the ballads to be regarded historically as independent of the other kinds of narrative literature? Or are we to accept the theory stated by Mr. Courthope and very generally supported in this country that the ballads are derived from older narrative poems, or (it may be) from narrative prose?

This theory has been proved for the Castilian romances or the chief of them.[1]

[1] Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía heróico-popular castellana*, 1874, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado de los romances viejos*, sup. cit.; Ramon Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, 1896, and the review of this by Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1898, and his essay in *Poemes et Légendes*, 1900

The best of the Castilian *romances* came from older epic poetry, they are fragments of *cantares de gesta*, the originals are mostly lost, but besides the extant poem of the *Cid* there are great portions of others traceable in prose chronicles. The ballads of the *Infantes de Lara*, which are the best of all, have been traced in this way by Sr. Menéndez Pidal through the Chronicles to something like their original epic form.

These Castilian ballads, it should be remembered, are minstrelsy, chanted by travelling *jongleurs*; they are not choral ballads, they belong to a different order from the songs of King Denis. They have many of the qualities of ballad poetry as it is found in other countries, but they are generally more strongly narrative. They are addressed to an audience by a minstrel who says 'lythe and listen, gentlemen!' or words to that effect. They have something of the nature of epic, and even if evidence were wanting it would be plausible to suppose them fragments of an earlier epic world.

But with the ballads of England, France, and Denmark, the same thing cannot be proved in the same way, and the guess is not so likely to be true

There are ballad plots that cannot be traced in any literary form apart from the ballads, and that can scarcely be conceived as translatable into mere narrative out of their lyrical form. How could *The Milldams of Binnorie* ever exist as anything but a ballad? All its value would go if it were turned into a mere story.

There are some poems, on the other hand, which are certainly transformations of older narratives into something like the ballad form. But generally there is an answer ready for the theory that ballads are derived from older minstrelsy, as follows. Some ballads are derived from older narrative literature of these, some are worth remembering and others not. Those that are not worth remembering are not worth calling ballads; those that are worth remembering are worth it *as ballads* and not as mere narrative poems. *Hynd Horn* comes from one form or another of the old romance, but it is not the same thing as any of these or any portion of them. It has a different nature. When a book is turned into a ballad the result is something new, and often something which it is futile to compare with its original, except for the material in it. Its efficient and formal causes are elsewhere. With what is one to compare the Shetland ballad of Orpheus? It comes, no doubt, from the romance of *King Orfeo* This is one of the most beautiful of the old rhyming lays; but it does not account for the ballad. There is something in the ballad which has come in another way.

There is an Icelandic ballad of Tristram and Iseult, the matter of which is taken from a book. But to go to *Tristrams Saga* or any other known narrative version for the grace and music of this song is as good as looking in Shelvocke or Captain James for the spell of the Ancient Mariner.

The Danish ballad of *Paris and Helen* is not so wonderful as this, but it is remarkable in other ways, as showing how the literary substance can be transformed. The story of *Paris and Helen* has become entirely Danish, and wholly and absolutely a ballad. The names and places are Danish: Menelaus becomes 'Nilaus'—a favourite ballad name—and the site of his castle (all by reason of the ballad) is pointed out in Jutland.

The truth is that *Ballad* is an Idea, a poetical Form, which can take up any matter, and does not leave the matter as it was before. The virtue of it has been proved in the greatest of all adventures. The whole mystery of Christendom, the story of the Passion, has been turned into a song with a ballad-burden. It is the frailest of all poetic creatures, and no words can fitly express its beauty. The meaning is scarcely apprehended till just at the close. The burden is of a common sort, like that of a Christmas carol:—

Lully lulley!
The faucon hath stolen my make away!

1. He bare him up, he bare him down,
   He bare him into an orchard brown.

2. In that orchard there was an halle
   Which was hanged with purpill and pall.

3. And in that hall there was a bed,
   It was hanged with gold so red.

4. And in that bed there lith a knight,
   His woundes bleding day and night.

5. By that bed side kneleth a may,
   And she wepeth both night and day.

6. And by that bed side there stondeth a stone,
   Corpus Christi wreten there on.

(*Lully lulley, lully lulley!*
The faucon hath borne my make away.)

As in the Danish *Paris and Helen*, so here, the poetical form has taken the historical substance wholly into itself, and made a new poetical thing, whose value one need not try to estimate by com-

parison with the historical sources. Neither from the Troy Book nor the Evangelists does one get much help in assaying the poetry of these songs.

The relation of the ballads to epic poetry has been often discussed. The plain fact is that it is different in different cases, both generally, as between one country and another, and particularly, as between the several ballads. Thus we may accept for Castile the derivation of ballads from older epics, which will not do as a theory of *Jamie Telfer* or *Parcy Reed*. Again in particular cases there may be found the compiling of separate songs into one poem, which has been thought to be the way epics are made. *The Geste of Robin Hood* is a poem of this sort, so is the long ballad of *Marsk Stig*;[1] so, apparently, is one of the Spanish ballads on the *Infantes de Lara*.

The ballads have often been compared with the Icelandic poems in the 'Elder Edda'. There is the same scale; there is often the same type of story. But the style of the older poems is different, and they belong to a different school of taste, more refined, artistic, and self-conscious. The older poems have nothing to do with the carol fashion of the ballads, and though there may be common phrases and fragments of diction to be found on both sides, the old heroic poems have none of the peculiar primitive devices of the ballads. When the older poems use the figure of repetition, it is like the repetition in Greek idylls, not that of the ballads.

Yet the likeness in the scale and in the choice of story remains. And taking into consideration the Castilian romances here, not to speak of any other remoter country, one gets at the fact that *the short heroic poem* is a species in which the ballads are included along with other varieties which have not the special features of the ballad. The essential thing in the *Atlakviða* or the *Atlamál*, in the *Infantes de Lara*, in *Child Waters* or *Child Maurice* is, first, the conception of the story, and next, the proportions of it The story must be either tragic or, if not that, momentous in some way, it must have a situation, it must work to some point. This is what distinguishes these poems from the common rambling romances like *Bevis of Hampton*, from the endless books of chivalry. Again, they are all short poems, they rarely amplify or go into details, they have no digressions. This is what distinguishes them from epic.

Sometimes the proportions are broken; for example, in some of the Faroe ballads In those islands, the longer the better, for the ballad and the dance. There was a demand for stories of greater length

[1] v. sup., p. 188.

than the regular ballad, and the ballads were spun out, and ballads were made out of books, so that nothing but the lyrical form and the dancing custom (which is the same thing) kept them from turning into ordinary romances. But these exceptions do not alter the rule, and the rule is that the ballad, like the older heroic lays, shall have a plot, shall not wander from it, shall not expand it, shall not be large and long.

What is the difference between the short lay and the epic?

The difference, if one looks at the French epics or the *Nibelungenlied* for comparison, seems to lie mainly in the scale[1] and not in different notions as to the right sort of plot. The French *chansons de geste* seem to have the same sort of tragic motives as the ballads, the *Nibelungenlied* differs remarkably from the Icelandic poems with regard to Kriemhild's revenge, but the Icelandic poems differ among themselves almost as much, in tragic meaning the *Nibelungenlied* is not to seek, and it is idle to inquire whether the meaning is stronger in the German or in the Northern tragedies.

It seems probable that *Beowulf* and the *Nibelungenlied* are epics which have ballads, of a sort, in their ancestry. In Anglo-Saxon poetry, and again in Middle High German, it seems to have been found that the shorter type of heroic poem was too scanty. We have seen how the demand for greater length and larger volume has worked in the ballads of the Faroe Islands. The same sort of demand has led to the ampler narrative poetry of *Beowulf* and the *Nibelungen*.

It may be doubted whether a true epic can be made anywhere without the tragic sense and the unity of action which are found in the mediaeval ballads, as in the shorter heroic lays before them, especially those of the 'Elder Edda'.

The epics of the Middle Ages seem to spring from the same sort of tragic conception as the ballads. This may be believed at any rate of the best of them. The plot of the *Chanson de Roland* is as distinct as that of *Parcy Reed*. It is true that the Middle Ages are full of long rambling narrative poems; but are they to be called epics? It is not enough for an epic, nor right for a ballad, that it should have simply a hero with many adventures, like Hercules or Sir Thopas. Mr. Murray's pleasant fancy, of Homer sitting down to write the Book of Judges into an epic poem, may be illustrated from the *Rímur* of Iceland, especially those poems taken from the Norse traditional Book of Kings, where the matter is all heroic. But the *Rímur* are not strong as epic poetry. Apart from their too ornamental style, they are wanting in the narrative unities. The ballads, with all their difference of scale

[1] Heusler, *Lied und Epos*

and method, are like the true 'heroic poem' in the essence of their plots.

In the early literature of the Middle Ages the most important fact is the selection of tragic motives in preference to romantic adventures as the substance of heroic poetry and prose The adventures are there, but their interest is secondary to the tragic fortune of Sigurd and Brynhild, of Hildebrand and his son, of Roland, of Grettir or Njal.

The same thing is true of the ballads in the later Middle Ages, and this, quite as much as the difference of scale, is what distinguishes them from the longer stories of adventure. Not all the ballads are tragical, and tragedy is not wanting in the longer stories, in *Tristram* and the *Morte d'Arthur*. But in the longer romances there are many different policies, some authors are thinking of courtly sentiment, and some of spinning their yarn. The ballads keep to their point, and that is generally a definite tragic problem—distress like that of *Fair Annie*, or error, as in *Child Maurice*, or conflict of affections or duties, as in *The Douglas Tragedy* or in *Bewick and Graeme*—or, in the simplest of them, a brave man fighting against odds, like *Johnnie of Braidislee*. In the more cheerful ballads, and those with a happy ending, like the *Gay Goss-hawk* or *Katharine Janfarie*, there is still the same definite sense of drama—something that has to be played out, rather than something that has to be continued in a string of adventures

The ballads are not merely a limb of the great mediaeval body of romance; they are a separate form. They are not mere versified folklore, because their form—the *Idea* of a Ballad—makes them reject some of the most delightful fairy tales as unfit for their poetical scope. They are not degradations of longer stories, for even when they have the same plot, they make a different thing of it. Griselda has Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Chaucer as her advocates, but they leave the ballad of *Fair Annie* unimpeached, and none of their versions can take the place of it. The story is much the same as theirs if you reduce it to an abstract summary, but that is not the ballad

'The Ballad' is *form*, and the essence of it is shown in two ways: in the power of taking up new subjects, and treating them according to the laws of the Ballad; and in the lyrical beauty, which is utterly unlike the beauty either of epic poetry or of the longer sort of romance. It is something with a life of its own, and there is little in the heavier metal to compete with the ballad invention, and nothing that can outrival the ballad phrase—

For to bear the red rose company.

Whatever the importance of it may be, it is a fact that the ballad has lasted better than the other forms. The old epics have either disappeared altogether, or have gone down to the market-places and the chap-books, or have been kept alive by new poets like Ariosto, who use them as material for new poetical devices. The old romances which may at one time have been distinct in idea from the epic poems come down to the same pedlar's box in the end, where there is no difference in favour between the *Sons of Aymon* and *Fortunatus*, however unlike their origins may have been.

But the ballads have kept their life better than the larger kinds of poem. Not only are they less subject to the general degradation which comes upon the old epics, but they show, quite late and long after the heroic age, the original epic talent for seeing things in the frame of a definite plot. It is this liveliness of conception and vision, keeping hold of essentials, keeping a definite aim, which marks off the ballads more than anything else from the minstrel's romances. *Sir Thopas*, as a criticism of the old romantic schools, may exaggerate some of their faults, but it does not give them what is not theirs. The ballads escape from most of the vices of the longer romance. You can easily see when the romantic author is merely repeating what comes into his head, and trusting to luck for the coherence of his story. In the ballads, even when there is most repetition of commonplaces, there is seldom wanting a clear plan to begin with.

It may seem hazardous or superstitious to attribute so much virtue to a form—as if there were a Platonic Idea, a Ballad in itself, unchangeable and one, of which the phenomenal multitude of ballads are 'partakers' in the Platonic sense of the term. But at any rate it may be held that a theory of this sort would 'save the appearances'; it is hardly more miraculous than the appearances themselves.

POSTSCRIPT

Now that the Faroe dances and songs have been so thoroughly described by Mr. Thuren, it should be possible to compare them with the Asturian ballads mentioned above, p 184. One would gladly have more information as to these. They are described by F. A. Wolf (*v. supra*, p. 184, n. 2) and by Duran, *Romancero General*, 1849, p. lxvi, *apéndice al discurso preliminar*. It is noted that in the Asturias the men of the villages dance in a closed ring, the women in an open line. The women sing always the same song, a ballad without much meaning repeating the same idea in different rhymes, like the songs of King Denis with which it is compared by Dr. Henry Lang (*loc. cit.*) in his edition of the King's poetry —

> ¡ Ay, un galan de esta villa !
> ¡ Ay, un galan de esta casa !
> ¡ Ay, diga lo qu'él queria !
> ¡ Ay, diga lo qu'él buscaba ! &c

The men, on the other hand, sing any ballad they happen to know. The proper times are generally pilgrimages or other holidays where different villages meet, and where the villages sometimes challenge one another, crying on one side (for example) *viva Pravia* and on the other *viva Peloña*—as our county neighbours used to cry *Up with Garsington !*

This note of Duran gives (p. lxv) the ballad of *Don Bueso*, one of the most interesting of those Castilian ballads which are not peculiarly national. It forms part of the argument in *Hilde-Gudrun*, to which attention has been called above, p. 192, n. 2.

Dr. Lang quotes another description of the Asturian dances, by Amador de los Rios. But that also belongs to the middle of the last century, and something more recent would be welcome.

W. P K.

THE COLIGNY CALENDAR

By JOHN RHŶS

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read January 26, 1910

Of the Celtic inscriptions of ancient Gaul far the most important and extensive, as well as the hardest to interpret, is the Calendar of Coligny, which is in the department of the Ain, not far from Lyons on from the road from that city to Strassburg. The difficulty of the interpretation must be my excuse for returning to the Calendar. My previous paper on it, entitled 'Celtae and Galli', was read to the Academy in May, 1905, and since then, a part of my paper on 'The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy', read to the Academy in May, 1906, dealt also with the Calendar. That part was devoted to details relating mostly to readings which I had revised in the previous September. I have since revisited the fragments of the Calendar, and I may begin the last part of my story by mentioning that some time ago M Salomon Reinach was good enough to give me an introduction to a member of the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Lyons, M. Henri Lechat, who is professor of Art History and has charge of an important museum within the University buildings

As early as May 19th, 1909, he had given me answers to numerous queries of mine as to the reading of certain lines of the Calendar, on which my notes had proved inadequate. As soon, therefore, as I arrived from Avignon, on Aug. 23rd, I called on him and found him superintending changes in the classical portion of his museum. He had long been acquainted with the Calendar, and he came with me next day to examine it in the Municipal Museum, of which M. Dissard is in charge. The latter gentleman at once had the glass case opened for our inspection of the fragments ; and in passing I wish to make good an omission in my paper of May, 1906, namely, as to the dimensions of the bronze tablet, which are, I find, 1·48 metres long by 0·90 high. The fragments have never been photographed what facsimiles and tables of them have been published will be seen from the following notes :—

1. The text of the Calendar is to be found printed at length, together

with six plates, published by M Dissard in the *comptes rendus* of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres for the year 1897, pp. 730 et seq from there M. Seymour de Ricci reproduced them in the *Revue Celtique* for 1898. 2 From M Dissard's plates M le Capitaine Espérandieu, now Commandant Espérandieu and *Correspondant de l'Institut*, produced two autographic plates entitled *Calendrier de Coligny* (*Ain*), *Reconstitution proposée par le Capitaine Espérandieu* (Saint-Maixent, Aug. 26, 1898) Of this I have never been able to procure a copy. 3. I possess, however, with the date of Saint-Maixent, November, 1898, a similar 'Reconstitution' described as a supplement to the *Revue Épigraphique*, *N.* 90 A revised version of this, dated September, 1900, was published at the end of the *Revue Celtique* for that year These two copies of that 'Reconstitution' I have briefly called the Charts of 1898 and 1900. 4. Between the dates of the two, M Espérandieu transferred their contents into tables of the months, placing, for instance, the five months of Rivros (August) in so many parallel columns. It is headed *Reconstitution proposée par le Capitaine Émile Espérandieu d'après les dessins de M. Dissard*, and dated Saint-Maixent, Oct. 26, 1898 5 M. Auguste Allmer published in the July–November number of his *Revue épigraphique du Midi de la France*, 1898, a valuable article on the Coligny Calendar, to which he added a facsimile in two colours. In February, 1899,[1] an offprint of this was issued, revised and enlarged, bearing the title *Calendriers Celtiques de Coligny dans le Département de l'Ain, et du Lac d'Antre dans le Département du Jura, sur Tables de Bronze*; *Statue de Bronze présumée d'Apollon*

What I have found most convenient to work with has been Commandant Espérandieu's tables of the months, which he calls a *Reconstitution*: in English the word Reconstruction is perhaps preferable. As this is not in the market, I wrote last December to the Commandant asking him for his kind permission to put together for the purpose of this paper a version of his Reconstruction revised up to date. For from the time of the publication of M. Dissard's plates there has been continual revision by him and by Commandant Espérandieu · to some extent by others also. Indeed the question of *suum cuique* would not be altogether an easy one to deal with. More especially it should be mentioned here that since the Charts and the Reconstruction occupied Commandant Espérandieu, M. Dissard's attention was attracted by inequalities in the thickness of the metal. The

[1] For some of these details I am indebted entirely to M. Seymour de Ricci; see his most useful bibliography of the Calendar, published in the *Revue Celtique* (for 1900), xxi. 20.

result was, that the latter savant proceeded to shift some of the fragments, and two difficulties arising from this origin were noticed in my last paper, on 'The Celtic Inscriptions' (pp. 84, 92, 93). I had now the pleasure of seeing both of those difficulties removed —

1. The first was caused in part by a small fragment which had on it the entry RIVRI thrice In the 1898 Chart it stood isolated in the lower half of Dumannios in Column 1, and in the 1900 Chart it was similarly placed in that month in Col 11. M. Dissard made the discovery that this fits on to the left of a compound fragment of four pieces which make up nearly the whole of the first Cutios month The compound fragment of four pieces had been placed in Col. 5 in the 1900 Chart, but in Col. 12 in the 1898 one. The enlarged fragment of five pieces, however, could not find room in either of those columns, and the next move was made by Professor Lechat. he placed the whole in Columns 1 and 2, with the approval of M. Dissard. They agreed that there was no material difficulty and waited to hear what I should say from the point of view of the interpretation. I could only approve most emphatically. Cutios falls into its right place in Col 2 and on its left the RIVRI bit finds its place in the first fortnight of Dumannios.

2. The piece mentioned in my 'Celtic Inscriptions', p 93, as beginning with CORIVRI or GORIVRI—M. Lechat reads GO rather than CO, and I think that he is right—had been lately placed near the top of Col. 3, but now M Lechat fitted to it, from below, a bit with the big X of atenoux. which both the Charts had placed near the top of Col 3. I found that it should be brought back to Anagantios in Col. 14, for I noticed that it agreed in thickness with the nearest part of Cantlos in Col 13 to the left of it. the comparative thinness of the bronze in this part had not been taken into account. The bit with the X helped to fix it in its exact place. MM. Dissard and Lechat thoroughly approved of the shifting, but as a matter of fact it only meant the placing of the bigger piece where it will be found to have been in both Charts, while a previous suggestion of mine that it should go into Col. 5 was at once found to be impossible. We scrutinized the atenoux. of this month and came to the last trace of a letter on the piece. I had in my previous notes recorded various guesses which I had made in vain, but this time I feel sure that I hit on the right reading—it is the first O of DIVORTOMV. In both the Charts the letter in question has been printed D, preceded by a perpendicular which might be I, a part of T, or the last limb of an N, but in his Reconstruction Commandant Espérandieu has DD, to which he has appended the note 'Erreur probable'. All those letters

look too small and the larger lettering of DIVORTOMV alone fits. I tried in vain to read IO or TO, for both the spellings DIVERTIOMV and DIVORTOMV as well as others occur all that remains is the O on the lowest point of the fragment. MM Dissard and Lechat regarded this reading as certain, and as settling conclusively the exact place of the piece at the bottom of Col. 14.

After these remarks it is needless to say that I think there remains very little to be done by way of revising the collocation of the fragments of the Calendar There are a few still unplaced, but they are not likely to prove the means of disturbing the others to any appreciable extent, that is in case fragments should be detected to which they can be shown to adjust themselves. They are mentioned at the end of the revised version of Commandant Espérandieu's Reconstruction That document will be found printed as an Appendix to this paper and should be consulted at every step, not only as a masterly piece of restoration helpful to the understanding of such arguments as this paper contains, but also on account of the readings which M. Lechat, with the aid of M Dissard, has established of entries which had either been wrongly read or not read at all. This is not all, for as a labour of love, M. Lechat has, with the utmost care, collated every line of the proof-sheets with the original fragments, and placed me under a debt of gratitude which it will be hard to discharge. In the next place I wish to record my indebtedness to M. Dissard and Commandant Espérandieu for their help in years past and in various ways connected with my study of the Calendar. My special thanks are due to the latter savant for kindly permitting me to use his work

I

My paper in 1905, though by no means confined to generalities, began with the order of the Sequanian year as shown in the Calendar. I wish to commence with the question of the beginning of that year, as I believe that I can now improve on what I wrote then. The Calendar covers a lustrum of five years, inclusive of two intercalary months of thirty days each. The first of the intercalations begins the first year and stands immediately before the month of Samonios or June, which begins the remaining four years. The other intercalation comes in the third year and stands just before the winter month of Giamonios, approximately December. The lettering of the whole had been carefully inscribed on bronze, and the first line of writing occurs on a higher level than the month columns. It begins with a big D which probably commenced the word DEVVO: unfor-

tunately the D is the only letter left of the line; but one can hardly doubt that it went on to give the equivalent of what would have been in Latin Deo Rivo or Deo Rivo Sacrvm. Provisionally—but only provisionally—I fix on Rivos, as being the only god's name which has been found in the fragments The initial line was presumably a dedication of the Calendar to the god of the temple where the document was put up.

In all probability that event implied a ceremonial function of some importance, and it suggests the question at what time of the year it took place. In the four years which do not begin with an intercalation, one sees that the year begins with the beginning of Samonios or June. But in the first year, which began with the intercalary month, was the beginning of that month also the beginning of that year for ceremonial purposes? Hardly; so I should look for the ceremony in question in the early part of Samonios. Now there is a note which, rightly understood, seems to settle that point. I wrongly looked at it as filling a lacuna and as meant to refer to the first half-year inclusive of the intercalation. As it comes at the end of the intercalation, it seems more logical to suppose that it refers to the intercalation. It is not quite complete, as the dots and small letters serve to show—

MID AMB RIXTIO
COB . . . . CARIEDIT
OXT ANTIA
POGDEDORTONIN
QVĪMON

Here RIX is nominative like Latin *rex*, and qualified by TIO-COBREXTIO(S) the two words mean the *rex* or director who legislates for the house or temple The verb is CARIEDIT, a lisping of *cariessit*, which I explained in my first paper, 'Celtæ,' pp. 13, 14, as meaning 'has marked or marked off'. The reference is to what Cicero calls *clavus anni*, that is the nail which used to be put into the little hole in front of the number of the day of the month as it came. So far we have the subject and a transitive verb; what we have to seek in the first part of the first line is the word for month and the name of the intercalary month. The former would probably be written MID, abbreviation of an accusative MIDEN, that is *miđen*, a lisping of *misen*, for an early *mīns-en*, corresponding to a genitive *mīns-os*—in O Irish *mīs*, in Welsh *mīs* (for all cases). The first line seems to have the nominative spelt MIDX, derived from *mīns-s*, in which case the X must have been applied here in its vulgar Latin

value of *ss* or sharp *s*.[1] The spirant D is not distinguished in the Calendar by being written Đ, witness CARIEDIT, and what combination of sounds was exactly meant by the letters DX at the end of a word I cannot tell, but whatever it was in Sequanian, it was sooner or later dropped altogether in Irish, where the nominative is *mī*, Greek μήν, Ionic μείς, Latin *mensis*, of another declension.

The next thing is to find the name of the month. The only letters before the word RIX were supposed to be ID, but on being closely examined by a careful reader they prove to be not ID but MB, and I have no hesitation in making the latter into AMB, a syllable which occurs more than 200 times in our fragments of the Calendar. It is not found except on the uneven days of the month, and it is so distributed as to be about five times as numerous in the latter half of the month as in the first. Whether the proportions would have worked out very differently if we had the Calendar in its entirety, it is impossible to say. As to the word intended by AMB I have no doubt but that it was AMBAXTI 'Ambachts', Latinized *Ambacti*, or the singular AMBAXTOS, or else some closely kindred word signifying the Ambacti's attendance on the chief ruler of the Temple, or the time they gave up to do the work required on land belonging to it, if there was any; perhaps it was partly attendance and partly manual labour. They gave their service in the daytime, very rarely at night: one or two such entries occur in Dumannios, where we have N AMB.

The most important passages in ancient authors concerning the Ambacti will be found brought together under that word in Holder's *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*. There one finds that the word *amb-actos* has been explained as *circum-actus*, and it meant a slave or attendant. I need hardly remind you of Caesar's passage in point (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 15, 2)—'ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet.' But perhaps somebody may ask what all that has to do with the name of the intercalary month in question. The answer is very simple: as the *ambaxtos* stood to his Celtic patron and served him, so in the matter of the Calendar the intercalary month attends and serves on the others, the regular months. Indeed this forms an excellent proof that the interpretation which has just been offered is substantially sound. Now the first sentence of the note will read in full thus: MIDEN AMBAXTON RIX TIOCOBREXTIOS CARIEDIT, which means 'The month of Ambachtos the house-legislating director has marked'. The fact

[1] See Sommer's *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 257.

that AMB stands both for AMBAXTI and for the month-name AMBAXTOS makes it sometimes hard to distinguish between them; but we probably have an instance of the month's name in what I have ventured to treat as AMBAXTO in the first intercalation, line 35 in the Reconstruction of the Calendar. It is just possible that the word as a month's name had a prefix meaning 'out' or 'first', as the Calendar has a second intercalation.

The note resumes its course with a word OXT, where the X means the Greek X or *ch* as in AMBAXTOS, COBREXTIO, and the like,[1] whereas in RIX it retained perhaps the Latin value of *cs*; and in the reading MIDX we have probably to give X a third value, that of *ss* In OXT —in fact wherever X came before T in the same word—it was Greek X, and here the word is represented in Irish by *acht* the conjunction meaning 'but'. Then there follows ANTIA which I would now treat as of the same origin as Latin *ante* 'before (in space)', Greek ἀντί 'opposite, against', and as meaning 'now or here, in this case, in the present instance'. The word POGDE analyses itself into a compound preposition plus a pronomial element ('Celtae', pp. 14, 15) the former consists of the preposition which we have in the Calendar in OCIOMV 'with us', with the preposition *po* of the same origin as the *po* of Latin *po-situs*, which Sommer (loc. cit., p 545) regards as a by-form of the preposition which is in Greek ἀπὸ Our lamented colleague Dr. Whitley Stokes (in the second part of Fick's dictionary, entitled *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, Gottingen, 1894, p. 4), has left the same opinion on record, and has added that the Welsh etymological equivalent is *o* 'from'. Accordingly, I should interpret *pogde* to have meant 'away from it, regardless of it, notwithstanding this, nevertheless'. We have similar compounds of *oc* in Welsh *rac*, now *rhag* 'before, in front of' ('Celtae', p. 21)[2], and in the Irish *cuccum*, now *chugam* 'unto me, towards me' ('Celtae', p. 12), in neither of which the *oc* element seems to contribute anything of a very tangible nature to the meaning of the compound.

The next word is the verb DORTON which I have interpreted as meaning 'has been put' (ibid. pp. 15, 41, 42). It equates with one of the most irregular verbs in the Irish language and it would seem to combine the meanings of Greek δίδωμι and τίθημι. some of the ancient forms of the Irish verb which I have given are *durat* 'data est', *con-dartin* 'ut darem', *con-darta cach* 'that every one may give' To

[1] See Holder's *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, III. 462[a]

[2] The footnote on *acw* 'there' should be cancelled, as there are reasons to think that *acw* is a form extracted comparatively late from *raco* of the same meaning.

these I would add *do-rata a fial torand* 'May He put His veil over us' (Stokes & Strachan's *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii. 299) The verb was apparently also irregular in the language here in question, for besides the present instance of *dorton* we have in one of the defixions at Rom *derti* 'give' and *ape-derti* 'give away, grant'

The next word is *in*, governing the accusative, so it is to be rendered 'into' it has that same meaning in Irish. The noun governed by it is written QVIMON, but it is not known that those six letters represent the full pronunciation of the word meant. The formation probably was somewhat the same as that of Latin *bīmus*, *bīma*, *bīmum* 'two years old, more literally two winters old'. So with *trīmus* and *quadrīmus*, not to mention such locutions as *trima dies* 'a term of three years' and *ante trimos* 'before the end of three years'. The derivation of *bīmus*, for instance, takes us back to **bihĭmos*, **dui-himos*, the *him-* being of the same origin as *hiem-s*, 'winter'. The corresponding formation in the language of the Calendar should give from the fifth numeral *qvinqvi-gimo-s* or possibly *qvinqvi-giamos* with the second element uncontracted, which we have in the month-name *Giamonios* 'the winter month, December', but since the *g* might be elided as in *tio* (for *tigos*) 'house', it is possible that *qvinqvi-gimo-* had been shortened into *quinquīmo-*, that this in fact was the word meant by what has been written as the accusative QVIMON. But it is not impossible that the original compound had been shortened still more in pronunciation and that QVIMO-N [1] was the full spelling. In that case, however, I should have rather expected to find the *m* doubled. This raises the question of abbreviations in the Calendar It will suffice to say that, besides leaving the latter part of a word unwritten, the engraver now and then left out portions of the middle: witness *Anagtios*, *Anagtio* for *Anagantios*, *Anagantio*, and we may probably add the instance GO for *Gutuatro* 'to the priest', and SIMIS for *Simivisonnios*. More remarkable still is perhaps TIOCBR for TIOCOBREXTIO.

To sum up, I give the rendering of the words in question as follows. 'The month Ambachtos the director of the house legislation has marked. But now it has been put none the less into the Calendar of the five years.' As the note is found at the end of the intercalary month I have now no doubt that it refers to it, and that, while it was marked off day by day by the Rix, any ceremony connected with the putting up of the Calendar in the Temple had

[1] The interpretation of QVIMON as meaning a term of five years was published by Mr Nicholson in his *Keltic Researches*, which appeared in 1904: see p 125.

to wait until the first ordinary month came round, namely Samonios. In other words, the year at the date of the Calendar was, for all ceremonial purposes of this kind, reckoned to begin at the beginning of Samonios, approximately June.

Finding that the name of the first intercalation was probably MIDX AMBAXIOS, one is led to read the name of the second in line 5 (Col. 9) as M AMB ANTARAN, involving an adjective ANTARANos. The words taken together meant 'the month which was an Ambaxtos that came between', the latter adjective being derived from a preposition *antar*, in Irish *etar*, *eter*, *iter* 'between', Latin *inter*, Oscan *anter*, Umbrian *anter*, *ander*, Sanskrit *antár* 'within, inside, in, between' The Old Welsh form appears as *ithr* 'between', but it occurs also as *entyr* in *entyrch*, now more commonly pronounced *entrych*, 'the firmament or sky.' Compare Sanskrit *antárikṣha* 'the atmosphere', regarded, according to Vedic ideas, as the intermediate one of the three great regions of life, and as distinct from Heaven.[1] As this month comes in the middle of the third year, the name fits exactly and contrasts with that of the first intercalation which comes before the rest of the year, as it were an Ambactus acting as an attendant or slave in the capacity of outrider or forerunner. In front of Anag. in line 11 the name of the second intercalation may have stood, perhaps, in the abbreviated form of AMB ANT; but only the T has left a trace of its presence the rest was on a part of the metal which is gone. In line 39 there may have been ANT between AMB and RIVRI, but the space left there looks blank.

At this point a few words may be devoted to considering how a June year stood historically as regards the November–May year of the Insular Celts, which I regard as representing the original Celtic year In the latter case the Sequanian year had departed from it, and in that departure I reckon two distinct stages The year began with Cutios or November, and its second half with Cantlos or May. it has remained so to a certain extent in Wales to our day, whereas among the Goidelic Celts there has been a tendency for Cantlos to compete with Cutios, and the shifting might go on to the extent of fixing the balance of favour permanently on the side of the summer half of the year. This seems to have been a comparatively easy change, and it is what appears to have happened in the first instance in the case of the

[1] See Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, s v *en-ter* (p. 30); Thurneysen's *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, i. 462, Bopp's *Glossarium comparativum Linguae Sanscritae*, s.v. *antarikṣ'a*, and Bohtlingk & Roth's *Sanskrit-Worterbuch*, under the same word

Sequani. In other words there was a time when they reckoned their year as beginning with Cantlos or the month of May; and that year seems to me to have left its mark on their Calendar:—

(1) When the Calends of Cantlos, the first of May, began the year, Edrinios or April was the last month, and I have in my first paper (p. 31) associated the word *Edrinios* with an Irish word *eithre* meaning the 'end', accusative *ethri*, as in *ethri n-Auguist*, 'the end of August.' This would point to *Edrinios* as the 'end' of the year. I lay no very great stress on this etymology, as it would require us to regard Edrinios as standing for an earlier *Ederinios*.

(2) There is another point deserving of notice in the month of Edrinios. the last entry in the four years after the first is N, which stands for NOTS, 'night,' and seems to indicate some special doings on the last night of the year, something perhaps analogous to welcoming the advent of the New Year in this country in modern times. Whatever it meant, our fragments do not show any other month ending in the same way.

(3) Lastly, since Cantlos as the first month of the year would naturally be the month in which to legislate with regard to the ritual and management of the Temple, the last day of the first fortnight of the month shows the entry TIOCOBREXTIO in the three first years· the two other years are wanting, but did we possess them, they would probably prove to have had it likewise. The point is, that even when Samonios or June became the first month of the year, the conservatism connected with the Temple resisted the change from Cantlos to Samonios. On the other hand we miss all reference in the Calendar to any considerable event associated with the beginning of Cutios or November, a most important time as regarded from the point of view of the November–May year.

The other stage in the departure of the Sequanian year from that of the Celts in common, would be the shifting from Cantlos or May to the next month Samonios or June. For this change no cause is evident at the first glance, but when the Calendar has been carefully studied as a whole, the reason dawns on one with convincing force—Cantlos was not a good or lucky month, but Samonios was, so the commencement of the year was moved to it This shifting was part of a movement which has left its mark on the features of the Calendar from beginning to end. One of its results was the classifying of the days of the year into lucky and unlucky according to their position in their respective months. see pages 221, 265 below.

Nevertheless the Sequanian year did not begin at the solstice: that seems certain, since there is no difficulty in approximately identifying

the solstice in the Calendar. For on the second day of the Atenouxtion of Samonios, that is the seventeenth day as reckoned without a break from the beginning of the month, we have the entry M D TRINO SAMSINDIV and opposite it in the next year III D TRINVX[1] SAMO. The former occurs in the first year, and it may be rendered 'A lucky day the trinoux[tion] of Samonios to-day', which I understand to mean that the *trinouxtion*, or period of three nights of equal lengths, began on that day. The trinouxtion accordingly counted perhaps two days, the seventeenth and eighteenth, for the reason that one could hardly detect that the sun did not rise in exactly the same place on those two days, wherein we seem to have an apt illustration of the literal meaning of the Latin word *solstitium*, 'the time when the sun appears to stand still.' This applies to the longest day of summer, but for the Sequanians it covered three nights, let us say the space of two days Or shall we say rather that originally it covered two days, but that by the date of their Calendar as we have it, they had in some way or other learnt enough astronomy to limit the solstice to a single day, namely, the second day of the second fortnight of Samonios? that is to say, counting continuously, the seventeenth day of that month, while still retaining the old name of TRINOVXTION, in Latin *trinoctium*. Whichever way you take it, this fixing of the solstice seems to be of importance as to the date of the months in the first year of the lustrum, for it shows that the Sequanian month of Samonios, the approximate equivalent of our June, began according to their reckoning some days later than our June. It is needless to say that the second year would, in case of an accumulative error in the reckoning, depart still further from our Calendar, while the third year introduces an intercalation.

Before moving on, there is one thing to which I wish to draw attention · the arrangement of the year as we have it in the Coligny Calendar works out thus —

Samonios	Giamonios
Dumannios	Simivisonnios
RIVROS	EQVOS
Anagantios	Elembivios
Ogronios	Edrinios
CVTIOS	CANTLOS.

To that there is the serious objection that it does not lend itself

[1] We have here *Trinux(tion)*, whereas the other spelling was probably *Trino(uxtion)*, with the Greek digraph *ou* as in ATENOVX throughout On the other hand PETIVX, which I take to represent *petiuxtion*, shows no trace of the spelling with the digraph

to the division of the year into the usual halves, the Winter half and the Summer half. Furthermore, the disyllabic names were originally intended, I should say, for the leading months in their respective quarters and not for those at the tail. If therefore you arrange them, as I did when I discovered the distinction ('Celtae', p. 37), you have the following more logical arrangement:—

CVTIOS	CANTLOS
Giamonios [1]	Samonios
Simivisonnios	Dumannios
EQVOS [2]	RIVROS
Elembivios	Anagantios
Edrinios	Ogronios

This divides itself naturally into the two half-years, and the inference to be drawn from the month-names in the Calendar is, that they had been fixed before the idea of commencing the year with Samonios had been thought of, when in fact it was reckoned from the beginning of Cantlos (May) or perhaps, at a still earlier date, from that of Cutios (November). The importance of the four months with disyllabic names will be found to be emphasized by the higher average number of payments fixed in those four months, as will be seen presently. In brief, the Calendar carries on the face of it evidence that the older arrangement was practically identical with that among the Insular Celts, whose year we know began with All-

[1] The late Mr Alexander Macbain in the *Celtic Review*, 1906, p. 386, has left it as his opinion that 'Giamon contains the early Brittonic stem, *giamo*, winter, Latin *hiems*, Gaelic *geamhradh*, from a stem *gimo*, be it observed—Gadelic shows no *giamo*'; and he seems to charge those who thought otherwise with having lost the sense of perspective in language. On turning to Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p 104, he would have found *gaiamo-* placed as the leading form and *gimo-* as occupying only the third place This might have suggested to him the question by what time the form *gaiamo-* had become shortened into *gimo* It is doubtful whether Stokes would have escaped his charge: it is certain that Thurneysen, whose Handbook of Old Irish is before me, could not escape it, for on p 119 he says: 'Spater belegt ist der Nominativ *gaim* "Winter", vgl. *gaimred* "Winterzeit". Der Stamm mag *giami-* gewesen sein, vgl. gall. *Giamon* . . .' My own account would be that the *i* of *giam-* became a spirant *ý* or *ȝ*, and ceased to be sounded before the time of any extant Irish on vellum. The beginnings of it may be traced in Ogmic spelling on stones witness the genitives *Gossucttias*, *Gosocteas*, *Gosoctas*: see the *Journal of R Soc of Antiq of Ireland*, 1902, p 24.

[2] On the name of this month, Mr. Macbain was quite sound, for he wrote that 'Equos, of course, means horse'. He had too much common sense to cast about him for any such a phantom as *Ek-ou-o-s* to explain it away; and as to *Equos*, *Qutios*, and *Quimon*, he says that 'they may be from some Gadelic dialect', an admission which, to say the least of it, means practically his giving away his case for Brythonic affinities as against Goidelic.

hallows, with a possible doubt as to which half-year was to have the preference.

II

Besides the summer solstice, there is at least one later point at which we can check the Sequanian year, and that is the beginning of the month of Rivros or August. On the fourth day of that month in the first year we have the entry OCIOMV RIVOS, 'Rivos is with us, We have Rivos.' The corresponding entries in three of the other years represent some of the harvest being taken to the hill or eminence, while the fifth year has an entry which meant probably the same thing though it employed a different word, *tio* 'house', which may be interpreted to mean the house of Rivos. Those four entries refer to the taking of firstfruits to offer to the god in his sanctuary. The next remarkable day in this month is the thirteenth, when the first year has DEVVO RIVO RIVRI 'The crops to the god Rivos'. The most complete reference in the other years is this—IV · G RIVRI, where IV stands for *Ivos*, which I treat provisionally as meaning a feast or banquet; and I regard G as standing for the dative case of *gutuatros* 'priest'. Whether the entry is to be construed together is not certain, but when *Ivos* is to be taken separately it comes usually last, so I should on the whole be inclined to interpret as if reading in full, IVOS GVTVATRO RIVRIS[1] 'a banquet with crops to the priest', a feast at which crops (are offered) to the priest That construction would have a parallel at the end of Cantlos or May, where one has to read in full, IVOS DIBIN CANTLOBIN, 'an *Ivos* with two songs.'

There is one more entry to compare with the two foregoing ones, and it occurs on the fourth day of the next month Anagantios or September. The first and second years are here defective, but the others are unanimous in having OCIOMV RIVRI, 'The crops are with us, We have the crops.' This I understand to mean that all the chief crops had now been secured it was the end of harvest for the community in general. Lastly there is here on the second day of

[1] This is contrary to the current view as to the origin of the plural ending *-aib* (*-ab*), *-ib* of the group of Irish cases comprising the instrumental, locative, and dative-ablative in the *o* declension. I take the Celtic forms to have corresponded originally to the Latin *-īs*, Greek *-οις*, and to have disappeared in favour of the endings with *b* under the influence of the other declensions, especially the feminines in *ā*. See Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, p. 100, Brugmann's *Vergl Grammatik*, II i 709, 756-9, Zeuss's *Gram. Celtica* ii, p 216.

Anagantios an isolated entry GO RIVRI, which probably stands for *Gutuatio Rivri*, 'the crops to the priest.' In that case the formula is the same as in DEVVO RIVO RIVRI on the thirteenth of Rivros [1]. But I must confess that I do not exactly understand what interpretation to give to the fact that the Anagantios entry is confined to the fifth year

In passing it may be pointed out that from the fourth day of Rivros to the fourth of Anagantios (September) there is just a month of thirty days, that is, from the carrying in of the firstfruits to the complete securing of the crops. Now from the point of view of symmetry there might seem to be something wanting here; for why, one is tempted to ask, should the harvest not have begun on the first day of Rivros and ended on the last of the same month? Perhaps we might suppose that we have here to do with the result of an adjustment which had been made some time previously in the Calendar. But there are serious reasons against that view. In the first place comes the probable interpretation of the name of the next month Anagantios [1], which would seem to mean the month remarkable for the 'driving' done in the course of it, in reference, as I take it, to the teams carrying home the harvest in carts and wagons.

Lastly there is a consideration which renders it improbable that the great closing day of the harvest could have been in the latter half of the month at all. The year was so far lunar that the first half of each month was identified with a waxing moon and the latter half with a waning moon. The former was considered lucky and the latter the contrary: so much so is this the case in the Calendar, that in the Atenouxtion or the second fourteen or fifteen days of each

[1] The word *Anagantios* as the month's name is an adjective derived from *anaganto-*, an *o* stem derived from a participial one in *ant-*. Holder gives instances under *-anto-*, such as *Caranto-s*, *Decantae*, and the like The verbal stem here is *ag*, from which comes the O Irish *agim* 'I drive', and Latin *ago* 'I drive, lead, carry'. The prefix *an* meant 'much, very, very much', so that *an-aganto-* may have signified 'much driving, or possibly the much carrying vehicle'. In the Second Battle of Moytura a *file* or poet undertakes to name Lug's nine chariots: two of them are described as follows.—

Luachta anagat achad
feochair forgolla fosad.

Here *Anagat* is the exact equivalent of *an-aganto-*, and the line may be Englished 'the priced (? ransomed or hired) Anagat of the fields' see Stokes's Lismore *Lives of Saints*, p. 395, *luaigim* 'I buy, ransom' The *file* is not represented as having completed the naming of the nine chariots, and the editor has given us even less, in fact only 'Luachta, Anagat, &c.' See the *Rev Celtique*, XII. p. 102, § 142.

month nothing of any special importance, no event implying any distinct initiative, takes place, with the exception of something to be discussed presently, which is fixed on the line of the summer solstice that exception is perhaps only notable as indirect evidence to the interest attached to the solstice. All the principal activities of the month are crowded into the first half or less, for the first five days have little to show except banquets and payments evidently the moon was not supposed to have as yet waxed strong enough Most of the second fortnight of each month also has only banquets to show and the attendance of the ambacti on the chief druid. If there was any important adjustment or correction of the Calendar in the sense which I have noticed, it probably took place before the month of September received its name of Anagantios, and if we may treat the thirty days' duration of the harvest as a constant number, the adjustment may have been made with a view to shifting the day of firstfruits from the first of August to the fourth in order to carry the closing days of the harvest to the fourth of Anagantios (September).

As the Calendar stands, we are told on the fourth day of Rivros in the first year that the god is present on that day, that is, in the Temple. He is treated as being present also on the thirteenth, as present then at any rate as the priest on the second of Anagantios in the fifth year the formula seems the same. The belief in the actual attendance of the god every fifth year is a circumstance which cannot possibly be dissociated from the fact, that the Calendar was framed to cover a period of five years, neither more nor less. In other words, the year when the new Calendar was set up, the year when the harvest god in person was believed to sojourn in the midst of his people, the year when important proclamations were made, was the year of the great meeting, of the high festival The corresponding feast in the remaining four years passed as of lesser importance and as too thinly attended to make it the occasion for general proclamations of importance. I shall have something to say concerning them by and by. All this recalls what Elton cites (p. 89) about the Boreads and their magnificent temple to Apollo, with a circular shrine adorned with votive offerings and tablets with Greek inscriptions suspended by travellers on the walls, and of the god himself appearing to his worshippers every nineteenth year about the time of the vernal equinox. The citizens, we are told, were given up for the time being to music, to harping and chanting in honour of the sun.

It does not matter whether we take the Calendar entries of the fourth day of Rivros to have originally belonged to the first day or

not For our purpose the fourth is near enough to the beginning: we now know how we stand, for at this point we have the help of old Irish literature, which supplies stories descriptive of the doings at that time of the year in ancient Erin Mr. Eugene O'Curry has translated several poems in point into English in his volumes on the *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, II. 39–47, III. 526–47. The earliest of them on record, preceded by an abstract in prose, occurs in the Book of Leinster, a great Irish manuscript of the middle of the twelfth century (fo. 215, 216[a]). There we are told among other things, that a great *oenach* or meeting (usually rendered in English 'a fair') used to be held every three years at Carman, where Wexford now stands It began on the Calends of August and ended on the sixth of that month. In the course of it a public proclamation was made declaring the assessment of the kingdom of Leinster for the space of the next three years. Horse-races took place every day, and there were three markets going on, a food market, a live stock market, especially of cattle and horses, and the great market of the Grecian Gauls with plenty of gold and fine garments to display. The Oenach was frequented by all the professional men, including those who had stories to recite and all who could play on a musical instrument. Nevertheless the great meeting as a whole was neither an Eistedfod nor a Parliament, nor yet an Agricultural Show. It had a religious meaning: the state celebration of the Oenach of Carman had a kind of theocratic significance it meant for the Men of Leinster abundance of corn and milk for the next three years. On the other hand the neglect of it meant baldness and premature greyness, failure of courage, together with the infliction of having kings without shrewdness, without elegance, kings who cherished neither hospitality nor righteousness. The poet thought this contrasted with what the numerous hosts of Labraid's Lis had always been, to wit, men of passionate energy. His words are—

> *Co se ba brigach bara.*
> *Slúag linmar lis labrada.*
>
> Hitherto powerfully passionate
> Has been the numerous host of Labraid's Lis.

In modern parlance they would probably be described simply as brave warriors and valiant soldiers; but the ancient Celts were not fastidious in their choice of words, witness the national name of Γαλάται or *Galli*, singular *Gallos* 'a Gaul, *Gallus*', for *Gal-ios* or *Gal-ŷos*, like *Allo-brox* = Welsh *all-fro* 'an alien', from *alyo-brog-s* 'one who belonged to other marches'; but the stem of

Gal-los was *galā*, in Irish and Welsh *gal*, which meant any troublesome sensation, ranging from a mere headache to the blinding fury of battle.

It should be explained that the Labraid mentioned was Labraid Longsech or Labraid the Exile, in whose time the poet asserts the Oenach to have been first held, in fact he gives the date as 580 years before the birth of Christ. This takes us back to the supposed time of Labraid Longsech, whom the Four Masters mention under 4659 A. Mundi as securing possession of the throne of Leinster,[1] which he retained till his death, an event which they date nineteen years later. The tradition is that he was enabled to triumph by the aid of foreign mercenaries, whose *lagin* or broad spears gave its name to *Lagin* or *Leinster*. It was also called the province of the *Galióin*, whose name seems to claim relationship with that of *Galli* and Γαλάται. One would like to know what foundation of truth one may consider Labraid's date to have. It would be of great help if the chronological conclusions of the Irish synchronizers were to be thoroughly examined by a competent historian. But to return to the Oenach of Carman, Irish literature usually treats institutions of that sort as being of the nature of commemoration of the dead, and in this connexion the following wild story is told —

In the days of the Tuatha Dé Danann, or as they are called in the Book of Leinster poem (fo. 215, 216[a]) *Tuaith Dé*, 'the Tribe of the Goddess,' their country was invaded by four Fomorian foes, a sorceress named Carman and her three sons. These three proceeded to destroy the crops of every kind of land, and Carman by her spells and charms spoiled and ruined all dairy produce. The Tuatha Dé Danann sent four of their own professionals to combat the evildoers. These were the Tuatha Dé Danann's witch Bechuilli, together with three men, of whom one was Lug Laiban, son of Caicher they overtook the three pernicious brothers and forced them to quit the country, leaving their mother Carman as a hostage in the hands of the Tuatha Dé Danann, to whom they promised never to return so long as Erin is surrounded by the sea. The witch died and her grave is said to have been made by Bres, son of Elathu, king of the Fomorians; at any rate the Tuatha Dé Danann, who were for a time under the rule of Bres, hied from far and wide to the mound piled

[1] This event has been placed by Tigernach as a part of the entry for the year which he begins with the following statement. 'Perdica rexit Macidonios annis li' · see the *Revue Celtique*, xvi 378.

over her and celebrated her funeral rites. That was the first Oenach or Fair of Carman. As to its antiquity I need hardly point out that the belief that all or most evil and misfortune, including bad seasons, are brought about by the malevolent magic of one's foes and rivals, is relatively an early order of ideas. I am, however, far from anxious to lay too great a stress on this, as I have more than once in my life observed in this country what an asset for the Opposition a continuance of bad weather may be as against the Government in being, whatever its political colour.

You will have perceived that there is something wrong in the Carman story, seeing that Carman and her sons belonged to the natural enemies of the Tuatha Dé Danann, that is to the Fomori or Giants, consistently treated as inimical to the farmer's interests. Witness a passage in the story of 'the Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel' in the Book of the Dun Cow, a MS written before 1106, where a hero named Mac Cecht is described as so valiant that he had beaten the Fomori in single combats and brought three of them away from their own country to the house of his king Conaire Mór as sureties, that so long as Conaire reigned the Fomori should 'destroy neither corn nor milk in Erin beyond their fair tribute'[1]

The last words are very significant, as they point to a cult of fear, of which the objects were not gods but demons, the Fomori or Giants who had to be appeased. That tribute is described by Keating[2] as a matter of history, and as consisting of an exaggerated proportion of all milk and butter, of corn, and even of the children of every family. One of the Fomorian leaders who exacted it was a sea rover called Morc, in whom one recognizes March ab Meirchion or him of horse's ears in Welsh folklore, and the wily king Marc of the romances. The right of the dark powers of bad weather and storm, of blight and disease, to a tribute, was probably an article of faith in Erin until its conversion to Christianity, and indeed locally long afterwards.

Among the continuations of the tribute I should be inclined to reckon the Manx burning of live animals, especially calves, to secure

[1] See Stokes's edition of the story in the *Rev Celtique*, xxii 194, 195

[2] See Keating's *History of Ireland*, edited and translated by Dr Joyce, p 86, where we are given the name of the place whither the tribute used to be brought for the Fomorians, namely, to Magh gCéidne, between the Drowes and the Erne in Donegal Keating explains the name to have meant 'the Same Plain', on account of the frequency with which it had to be brought there. Such an etymology, however, is out of the question, and the word is more likely to have been of the same origin as the Irish word *céide* 'a market, a fair' Compare the ancient name of *Cantion* 'Kent', the late Irish form would be *Céide*, masc as given by Dinneen, but it occurs earlier as *céte*, fem.

the prosperity of the rest of the stock.[1] Another aspect of it suggested by the tribute of children, was the exposure of maidens to be carried away by Fomori or other monsters. Our stories have usually treated that as a sort of episode giving opportunity for the display of valour by heroes like Cúchulainn, while a different treatment led up to such an incident as the contest every May-day for the hand of Creidylad, daughter of Llûd, between Gwythyr and Gwyn ab Nûd, who may be regarded as chief of what we may term Welsh Fomorians He is represented as resembling and as ruling the demons of Annwfn 'Hell', whence he could hardly be spared lest they should ruin this world.[2] One could not be far wrong in equating those devils with the Fomori of Irish story. With less of the grotesque, with less of the savage element, and handled with a more artistic touch, an incident of the Creidylad kind and origin attained as a matter of fact to a high pitch of dramatic effect in the romance treating of the protracted struggle between Tristan and the Fomorian Marc for the love of Essyllt.

Another famous Oenach used to be held at *Tailltiu*[3] or *Taillte*, genitive *Taillten*, which has been Anglicised *Teltown* the place is marked by a large artificial hill near the Blackwater, about half-way between Navan and Kells in Meath. This Oenach is described as established by Lug Lámhfhada, 'Lug of the long hand,' in annual commemoration of his nurse Tailltiu, daughter of Maghmor. She was wife to the last king of the Fir Bolg and afterwards to a chief of the Tuatha Dé Danann. The Oenach took place on the First of August, or, at any rate, that was one of the days, for it lasted a week, Keating, indeed, says that it began a fortnight before that day and lasted a fortnight after, and he compares it with the Olympic games of ancient Greece. There is no serious distinction to be made, as far as

[1] *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 305–8 cf Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xi 620, and Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* (Warrington, 1774), i 97.

[2] Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii 305 and 289, where the original text (p. 226) is badly mistranslated.

[3] The fame of Tailltiu appears to have reached Wales at an early date. we seem to have it in the Welsh *Tyllion* in the man's name, *Mordwyd Tyllion*, mentioned in the Mabinogi of Branwen (Oxford *Mab.* p 39). The other vocable equates with the Irish woman's name *Moríath*, so that the whole would mean Moríath of Taillte. The early forms implied may have been *Mori-ĭēto-s*, fem. *Mori-ĭētā* we may perhaps compare one or more of Holder's instances *Ad-ietuanus*, *Vind-ietā*, *Su-ietius* The word of command ascribed to Mordwyd Tyllion is not intelligible in Welsh it may perhaps be Irish distorted by the editor of the Mabinogion. So it remains doubtful whether he was one of the captains under Matholwch or Brân · see my *Studies in Early Irish History* in the first volume of these Proceedings, offprint, pp. 40, 41.

I can see, between this Oenach and that of Carman, which has already been briefly described. It had among other things the same religious sanction[1]; but it had one feature which does not seem to be recorded in the case of that of Carman, namely, that it was famous for the number of marriages which took place at it. Keating speaks[2] of it as follows. 'And it was here the fair of Taillte was held, in which the men of Ireland were wont to form alliances of marriage and friendship with one another.' The same thing is touched upon by the late Dr. O'Donovan in a note to the Four Masters' entry under A. M. 3370 concerning the death of Lug, and mentioning his having instituted the Oenach of Taillte. Dr. O'Donovan uses the following words, which are interesting in more respects than one —

'This fair, at which various games and sports were celebrated, continued down to the time of Roderic O'Conor, the last monarch of Ireland. It was celebrated annually on the first of August, which is still called Lugh-Nasadh, i.e. Lugh's fair, games or sports, by the native Irish. . . . The remains of a large earthen rath, and traces of three artificial lakes, and other remains, are still to be seen there. To the left of the road, as you go from Kells to Donagh-patrick, there is a hollow, called *Lag an aonaigh*, i e. the hollow of the fair, where, according to tradition, marriages were solemnized in Pagan times. There are vivid traditions of this fair yet extant in the country; and Teltown was, till recently, resorted [to] by the men of Meath for hurling, wrestling, and other manly sports.'—The first volume of O'Donovan's edition of the Four Masters bears the date 'Dublin, 1856': years earlier he edited 'The Banquet of Dún na n-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath', and in a note, p. 109, he gives additional information in point, as follows.—'Public fairs and games were anciently celebrated here on the first of August, in the presence of the monarch, and a patron is still annually held here on the fifteenth of August, which is supposed to be a kind of continuation of the ancient sports of Tailltenn.' This date probably means August 3, Old Style.

Here may be mentioned another Lugnassad Oenach, namely, one which is described in the Dinnšenchas of Naas in the present County of Kildare see the *Revue Celtique*, xv. 317, 318, where Dr. Stokes has published the text with a translation. The passage runs as follows:—'Nás and Bói, two daughters of Ruadri, son of Taite (?)

[1] See O'Curry's *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, pp. 618, 620, where a misreading *tur* (for *trú*) has led to a bad rendering.

[2] Keating, translated by the Rev. P. S. Dinneen, II. 249.

king of Britain, were the two wives of Lug, son of Scál Balb "the Dumb Champion". Now Nás was the mother of Ibec son of Lug. There, at Nás, she died and was buried; hence the place is called Nas. Her sister, that is Bói, then died at once from grief for her, and she was buried in *cnocc Bæ* "the Hill of Bua" [or *Boa*, genitive *Bói* or *Bái*] and hence Cnocc Bái, to wit, the *Cnocc* or hill of Bua. Lug gathered the hosts of the Goedels from Tailltiu to the proximity of the Brug to do the keening of those two women on the Calends of August every year. Hence the *nassad* of Lug, to wit, *Lug-nassad*, that is Lug's commemoration, or remembrance, or recollection or death-feast.'—In this passage *Cnocc Bæ* is the great mound now known as Knowth, and the Brug is the Brugh of the Boyne near Slane in Meath. So the great burial mounds which dot the banks of the Boyne from Drogheda to Newgrange have Lug and the Tuatha Dé Danann here significantly associated with them.[1]

There was at least one other great Oenach held on the first of August in ancient Ireland, and that was at Cruachan, one time the headquarters of the famous Queen Medb or Maive and her husband Ailill: the place is now called Rathcroghan, in the modern county of Roscommon. Comparatively little is known about this fair, but the fact of it is established by a poem translated by Mr. O'Curry in his *Manners and Customs*, ii. 342–5, where he ascribes the authorship to Fintan, the poet of a king of Connaught named Ragallach, whose obit is given by the Four Masters under the year 645. The poet relates how, when the king and his family were engaged in the games on the green of Cruachan, the lord of Tír-Chonaill made a raid into Connaught on the first day of Autumn, and how the poet and his friends, with the king at their head, had to hurry against the depredators: he ends triumphantly, thus:—

> Though our losses were many
> We missed them not in our pride;
> Riding the steeds of Tír Eoghain
> We acted the games of Cruachan.

Tradition has forgotten to tell us to whom it traced the origin of the Fair of Cruachan; but to one of those who had a hand in establishing that of Carman it gives the name Lug and treats him as the druid of the Tuatha Dé Danann, while, in the case of Taillte and of that of the Brug of the Boyne, it makes Lug of the long Hand do almost everything. But as a measure of Lug's impor-

[1] See Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 147, 148; Meyer's *Contrib. to Ir. Lexicography* (Halle, 1906), s.v. *brug, bruig*.

tance even this proves to be inadequate, seeing that the first day of Autumn, the Calends of August, or Lammas as it is called in English, has been named *Lugnassad* after Lug. That is common to all the Goidelic peoples, in Ireland, in Man, and in Celtic Scotland. Now the question occurs, what the term Lugnassad means. In the first place there seems to be general agreement that it means the *nassad* of Lug, but what did *nassad* mean? It is seen from the stories of which I have just given brief specimens, that according to some, from Cormac down, it signified a commemoration, while to others, such as O'Donovan, it meant games, sports, horse-racing; but neither guess appears to have any etymological foundation. I have long ago suggested the true interpretation; it is literally that of binding or tying, metaphorically anything of the nature of a contract or bond, and here that of marriage or act of wedding.[1]

[1] See *Celtic Heathendom*, p 416 The instances there given have since been multiplied and classified by Stokes and Meyer, the former s v. *naskô* in Fick's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p 191, and the latter in his *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, s v. *ar-nascim* 'I bind, connect; engage, betroth' But *ar-naiss a ingin dond rig* is rendered in Meyer's *Ir. Lexicography* 'his daughter was betrothed to the king', and *ar-nassa side remib huile* (*Rev Celtique*, xi 449) probably meant 'these were all betrothed forthwith'. The difficulty, however, is that *nassad* looks as though it should have been *nascad*, and this suggests the alternative combinations, *nasc-*, which remains unchanged, and *nacs-*, which would be regularly reduced to *nass-* Perhaps, however, it is safer to refer *nassad* to the influence of such forms as *ar-naiss* (for *ar-naisc-t-*) or *nassa* (for *nasc-t-*), in both of which the elision of the *c* is regular, as also in the reduplicate future *ar-nenas*, 'I shall bind' (for *ar-nenasc-s-*) But this is a question of etymological detail which does not affect that of meaning. That is established, for instance, by *nassa* used of a betrothed woman in the Book of Leinster, fo. 92a, as pointed out long ago in my *Celtic Heathendom* Here also should be pointed out that a passage occurs in some Irish martyrologies, where the word *nassad* is used of the bond of friendship between two holy men, named Beóán and Mellán, mentioned together on the 26th of October The readings and the sense vary in Dr Stokes's treatment in the Irish Martyrologies edited by him, and I follow the reading in his Martyrology of Oengus, except that I cannot accept the view represented in several of the MSS that *nassad* was the personal name of a third saint Accordingly I translate as follows:—

Nassad Beóan, Mellán | The bond of friendship of Beóán and Mellán—
nach mod atasníaim | in every way I weave them together in song.

The note in the different MSS. on this couplet explains that they were saints from Britain, and that they were contented with one church between them. Possibly that was a good test of their strong friendship for one another (Oengus, Oct. 26, pp 218, 226–9) The Welsh equivalent of *Beóan* was in the Liber Landavensis *Biuan*, that is, *Biuan*, later contracted into *Buon*, *Buan*, whence (with the *b* softened into *v* or *f* which was afterwards elided) we have a place called *Bod-ûon* or *Bod-ûan* in Lleyn and another in Anglesey the local spellings

One naturally asks, who can have been meant as the spouse? Before answering this it will be convenient to have Lug stripped of the garb into which the euhemerists have put him. In the first place the term Tuatha Dé Danann is to be interpreted as a collective name for the Goidelic pantheon: it consisted of a mob of gods and goddesses. Their foes were the Fomori, that is to say, the Giants. Neither Tuatha Dé nor Fomori were human: they were equally creatures of the imagination, divinities and demons; but the Fomori have often had mixed up with them in Irish story real humans under such names as those of Fir Bolg,[1] Fir Domnann, and *Galióin*: the distinction is not to be forgotten.

The answer wanted is to be found in the preface to a prophecy known as *Baile an Scáil* 'the Scál's Ecstasy'. *scál* is an Irish word which has been Englished as giant, hero, or champion. The prophecy is mentioned in O'Curry's *Lectures*, pp. 387–9, and towards the end of that volume, pp. 618–20, it is given with his translation into English. The MS. which he used is Harleian 5280, in the British Museum; but there is an earlier and better one in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 512 (fo. 101 a, b), supposed to date from the 14th or 15th century. It relates to a famous king of Ireland, known as Conn of the Hundred Battles; and O'Curry (loc. cit. p. 389) mentions the story as known to a poet who died in 1056. It probably refers to the beginning of Conn's reign, which the Four Masters date A.D. 123. The following is an abstract of the preface:—

One morning Conn rose very early to ascend the battlements of Tara to look round and see lest Fairies or Fomors might be settling down in Erin unobserved by him. For a time Conn did this every morning, taking care to be always accompanied by the same number of men. One morning, however, he found a stone in his way and he trod on it: the stone screamed under him and screamed so loudly that it was heard not only at Tara but all over Bregmag or the plain of Bregia. Conn asked his chief druid what this meant, but the druid

variously misrepresent it, I am told, as *Bodeon*, *Bodvean* and *Bod-Owen*! *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (Shrewsbury, 1773), p. 226, has it printed *Bodeon* in the first line of Tudur Aled's elegy to Owain ab Meirig of Bodeon in Anglesey about 1490. In the Book of the Dun (fol. 118b) *nassad* occurs also in reference to the binding nature of the ancient oath by the elements, which were considered capable of avenging themselves if the oath were to be broken:

Násad fir nan dúla de	The bond of the oath by God's elements—
issed romarb loegaire	that is what caused Loegaire's death.

[1] As to the term *Fir Bolg*, which was applied probably both to demons and to men, see pp. 251, 252 below.

demanded time for answering, namely, fifty and three days.[1] At the end of that interval Conn repeated his questions and the druid replied to them one by one: he said that the name of the stone was Fál, that it was from Fál it had come, and that it was at Tara in the land of Fál that it had been set up He continued to the following effect:—'It is in the land of Tailtiu that the stone remains for ever,[2] and that is a land which will be the Oenach of games for thy descendants as long as there is rulership in Tara. And the prince who on the last day of the week of the Oenach of Tailtiu will not witness it, is to be pitied that year. The Lia Fáil has screamed under thy feet, said the druid, and it has prophesied. the number of screams which it gave is the number of the kings that shall come of thy seed for ever.' He added that he was not allowed to give him any further information.

So spoke the druid, for the kings' names, as we shall see, were reserved for a grand rehearsal. While Conn and his friends were thus engaged in conversation they were enveloped in a thick mist and made aware of the presence of a *scál* on horseback who led them into a royal ráth containing a splendid house. Then he appears to have eluded them, while they entered the house. There they beheld a princess with a diadem of gold on her head and standing by her side a silver kieve bound with hoops of gold and filled with red ale: attached to the kieve were a ladle and a cup, both of gold. They beheld also the *scál* himself sitting there in his royal seat to receive them. The brooch that fastened his tartan was of great size: it became the wearer, for never had there been seen at Tara a man equal to him in stature and comeliness, in respect of the beauty of his form and the wonderful stateliness of his person. He proceeded to explain to them that he was Lug mac Ethnenn, and that he was there to reveal to Conn the story of his reign and of that of every king of Tara descended from him for ever. He added that the Queen in whose presence they were was the Sovereignty of Erin till the day of doom

It was now her turn, and she proceeded to present Conn with two

[1] As to the composition of this number, see page 255 below.

[2] This sounds as if Tara had been some time or other subject to Taillte; or shall we say rather that it is a faint echo of a time when the True or Cruithnian Ultonians had retreated northwards from Tara, but still held Taillte and the surrounding district? This would be very early, as the great landmark in the history of their retreat is reached not later than the earlier half of the fourth century, when the Three Collas drive them out of Emain Macha, near Armagh: see the Proceedings of this Academy, offprint of *Studies in Early Irish History*, pp 24, 30.

gigantic ribs, one of an ox and the other of a boar.[1] She then asked the Scál. To whom wouldst thou that I give this bowl of red ale? He replied that it was to Conn of the Hundred Battles, and he prophesied the story of Conn's life and wars. The same question and the same kind of answer followed in the case of each of Conn's successors the last prince of Conn's descendants is called Fland Cinuch. How much of this long prophecy was supposed to have been rehearsed is not clear, for it is cleverly suggested that the king's *file* or poet grumbled that it was too much of a good thing at one time. In fact, he seems to have found means of securing it in a form that would keep, to wit, by having got it cut in Ogam on four rods of yew. These were each of the length of the ox rib, namely, 24 feet, and provided with eight ridges each for the scoring, which might thus extend to 768 feet or 256 yards.

Finally when Conn and his companions emerged from the shadow of Lug and his Consort, they could see neither royal ráth nor gorgeous house. Everything had vanished, except that Conn had been left the kieve with the two vessels of gold, and the four rods of yew with the 250 odd yards of Ogam script. we are left to guess that we have them reproduced in the lengthy enumeration of the kings, who take up more than 16 of the succeeding columns of the vellum.

The ancient Irish were fond of place-name stories, and one such is associated with *Taillte*—I have rendered it as follows in my Hibbert volume on 'Celtic Heathendom', pp. 414, 415 —'The Refuse of the Great Feast which I mentioned, that is Taillne It is here that Lug Scimaig proceeded to make the great feast for Lug mac Ethlenn for his entertainment after the battle of Mag Tured; for this was his wedding of the kingship, since the Tuatha Dé Danann made the aforesaid Lug king after the death of Nuada As to the place where the refuse was thrown, a great knoll was made of it this was [thenceforth] its name, the Knoll of the Great Feast, or the Refuse of the Great Banquet, that is to say, Taillne, at the present day.' This word Taillne[2] is only another form of the place-name Tailltiu, genitive

[1] The three things offered to Conn seem to suggest that the staple products of his realm were considered to be barley, beef and bacon

[2] The fact is that the word was given a more usual declension by treating the old genitive *Taillten* as nominative, and providing a new genitive of the *a* declension, namely *Tailltine*, which would be contracted and become *Tailltne*, and *Taillne* In the Dinnsenchas of Nás in the *Rev. Celtique*, xv. 316, the uncontracted genitive actually occurs as *Tailtine*, *Tailltine*, with a nominative *Taillti* (in another MS *Tailtiu*), both meaning the woman, while we have it more as a place-name in the older form in *Ænach Taillten*, 'Fair of Taillte.'

Taillten, and the very feature here described as the Refuse of the Great Banquet is no other than what O'Donovan calls the remains of the earthen ráth at Teltown. This enables one to identify an allusion to it in the old MS. of the Book of the Dun Cow (fo. 123[a]). It occurs in a passage describing Cúchulainn's first visit to Emer, daughter of Forgall Monach, at her home near Lusk: he ventures to show off his skill in enumerating, by means of their kennings, the places he had passed through between Emain Macha and the neighbourhood of Lusk, in the present county of Dublin. One of them is described as *Tresc in Márimtill* 'the Refuse of the great Banquet'.

In discussing this story of Conn, I have left on one side most of the euhemerist touches which *Baile an Scáil* betrays, but we doubtless owe to them the reduction of Lug's consort into somewhat too thin an abstraction. Rather than the Sovereignty of Erin, it should have been Erin or Ériu as a personification of Ireland, that is of the land, the ground, of Ireland, which is warmed and fructified by the sun, that I take Lug to represent. Then the story of the Milesian conquest of Ireland falls into line: when the euhemerized Lug is slain by one of the Milesians his Ériu becomes the wife of one of them, to whom the story gives the name Mac Gréine 'Son of the Sun'. I have touched elsewhere[1] on the difficult question whether Lug was, so to say, a culture hero, or a god of sunshine and light, whether he played the rôle of a Mercury rather than that of an Apollo. I have always been inclined to the latter view, partly for the reason that the Irish name *Lug*, genitive *Logo*, is etymologically represented in Welsh by *Lleu* (later *Llew*), which as a common noun meant light.[2]

[1] See the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), ii. 220.

[2] See the Hibbert Lectures on 'Celtic Heathendom', p. 408. The equivalence of *Lleu* with *Lug*, genitive *Logo*, later *Loga*, is explained by a Brythonic change of vowel-flanked *g* to *u* or *ŭ*. We have a parallel in Welsh *meu-dwy* 'a hermit', literally 'God's slave', the first element of the compound is represented in Irish by *mug*, genitive *mogo*, so that *meu-dwy*=*mug Dé* 'servus Dei', more usually called *céle Dé* or Culdee. We have another in the name of the son of Dôn, called in Welsh *Euvyd* and in Irish *Ogma* for an early *Ogmio-s*, in Gaulish probably *Ogmio-s* or rather *Ogmiṷo-s*. This became in Brythonic *Ou-miđ* and *Eu-vyđ*, written *Euuyd*, and miswritten *Eunyd*: see Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 200, 303. Compare also such an instance as Irish *bráge*, genitive *brágat*, in Old Welsh *brouant*, later *breuant* 'the throat or gorge'. The later form *Llew* is hard to explain except as *Lleu's* double produced under the influence of such a name as *Llewelyn*, the older spellings of which occur as *Lauelin* in the Liber Landavensis and *Llyuelin* in the Black Book of Carmarthen of the 12th century (Skene, ibid., ii. 21). It represents an early *Lugu-belino-s*, which being accented on the second portion of the compound, had its first *u* obscured, while

Here I wish merely to point out that the alliance between Lug and Ériu helps one to understand the relation between Tailltiu and Lug in the story of the Oenach. Tailltiu was the wife of Eochaid mac Eirc, the last king of the Fir Bolg when they were conquered by the Tuatha Dé Danann, and afterwards of another Eochaid who was a chief of the Tuatha Dé Danann. This is consistent with Ériu being a local personification of Mother Earth. That does not help much, but it is not all, for she is called the daughter of Magmór, and the meaning of that name is 'large field' or 'great plain'. So when Lug is said to have raised a great earthen mound over his old nurse and established periodical games and races in honour of her around her mound, we have probably to substitute for the god Lug some king who worshipped Lug and had the work done which has been ascribed to Lug, in honour of the universal nurse Mother Earth. But the story, even euhemerized, never omits to introduce Lug, who could not be dissociated from the great parent as representing the sunshine and light required to make her fruitful.

In the story of the Second Battle of Moytura there is a passage which one can best interpret in reference to the sun-god just as the Tuatha Dé Danann were about to engage the forces of the Fomorians in the great battle where Lug was to triumph, the latter is represented encouraging his host by chanting a strain of song 'as he went round the men of Erin, on one foot and with one eye (closed)'—I am quoting Dr. Stokes's translation in the *Revue Celtique*, xii, p. 99. This is a reference, I take it, to the movement of the sun in the sky, and, as attributed in the first instance probably to Lug, it became well known as the attitude assumed by certain poets and sorcerers in the pronouncing of a metrical curse called *glám dicinn*.[1]

the *g* and *b* were softened and subsequently elided Compare *Luguballium* (in the *Antoninus Itinerary* and the *Notitia Dignitatum*), that is, probably, *Lugu-bali̯o-n* in its Brythonic or Gaulish form. Hence, in the *Civitates Britanniae*, we have *Cair Lugualid* (better *Liguelid*), whence ultimately *Carlisle*: see Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii. 210, and the Black Book of Carmarthen (Skene, ii. 31), where we have *Lliwelit*, which would now be *Llywelyđ* or *Llewelyđ* The second element in this name, *balli̯o-n* (with the *l* doubled for no etymological reason as in *Uxellodunum*), is to be explained by reference to the Irish word *bale* 'a place, a home, homestead, town'. So the whole compound meant 'Lug's place' in some one of the senses of the word place. However, the prefixing of *cair*, *caer* 'a fort or castle', to the place-name led to *Cair Liguelid* being misconstrued as the *cair* of a person called *Liguelid*. thus in the passage in point in the Black Book there is a mention of a 'son' of Lliwelyđ Compare the case of Elan being called Arianrhod from the name of her castle, and Myrđin 'Merlin' from *Moridūnon*, called in Welsh Caer Fyrđin see the *Oxford Congress*, ii 210.

[1] In the glossary to the text Dr Stokes quotes an elaborate account how the

As I have referred more than once to the Moytura story, and as I have to do so again, a few words must here be devoted to it. The only printed edition of it is an abridged one published with a translation some twenty years ago by Dr. Stokes in the twelfth volume of the *Revue Celtique*, pp. 52-130. This is from the only copy known to exist, namely, Harleian 5280 in the British Museum, a MS. of the 15th century. The learned editor in discussing the age of the composition, while admitting that many of the grammatical forms 'are doubtless Old-Irish', mentions some Norse loan-words which occur in it and enumerates a number of forms which 'belong unmistakably to the Middle-Irish period'. 'On the whole, however,' he writes, 'the language of our story is of considerable antiquity, and this will appear more clearly if we remove, in our minds, the corruptions caused by the scribe's system of spelling' He gives a very helpful list of those peculiarities of the spelling and closes his introduction in words to the following effect —'The value of our story (corrupt and incomplete as it is) to students of mythology and folk-lore appears to me considerable, but can only be properly estimated by scholars like Mr. Lang . . . M Gaidoz, and Mr. Alfred Nutt, who have made a special study of the beliefs and practices of savage races' Further acquaintance with this wild story convinces me that Dr Stokes was very far from overestimating its importance, and it is highly desirable to have a complete version published, that is to say inclusive of all the obscure passages and even of all the Rabelaisian touches. The language is so dark that there are few readers whom it could possibly hurt.[1]

glám dicinn was carried out A less elaborate one will be found cited in my *Celtic Folklore*, p 681, but the longer account makes the addition that each man repeating the curse should have in his hand a slingstone and a thorn. The former was the weapon used by Lug in killing the Fomorian chief, Balor, in the great battle, while the thorn probably visualized the wish that the stone might pierce the victim.

[1] Possibly some light might be thrown on the history of the story by a careful study of the points of contact between it and Welsh literature. Take for instance the Tuatha Dé Danann witches changing trees into a host under arms (Moytura, 117) and Gwydion's Battle of the Trees in the Book of Taliessin (Skene, ii. 138, 139, 154), the Well of Regeneration (Moytura, 123), and the Cauldron of Regeneration in Welsh (Mab of Branwen); the Morrígan's prophecy at the end of the Moytura story as compared with such passages as the 9th Hoian in the 12th-century MS. of the Black Book of Carmarthen: see 'Celtic Heathendom', p. 308. Lastly there is a single word *amain* which the editor has left untranslated (Moytura, 39): it would seem to have as a derivative the Irish word *amainse* 'wisdom, prudence', and to equate with Welsh *awen* 'genius, muse', whence *gor-awen* 'joy', *gorawenus* 'joyful'. It looks as if the Irish word was a loan from some Brythonic source.

In Wales Lug, under the Welsh forms of his name *Lleu* and *Llew*, figures together with his father Gwydion in the Mabinogi of Math son of Mathonwy, and they are not unfrequently mentioned together elsewhere. But never has the feast of the first of August been found called after Lleu, that is to say, Lug: it is known as Gwyl Awst, the Festival of August, or more correctly, perhaps, that of Augustus, for the emperor not only had the month of Sextilis called after his own name but he had an altar, *Ara Romae et Augusti*, consecrated on the first of August at Lyons, the great city of Lugudunum called after Lug, in Gaulish Lugu-s. The result seems to have been, and probably was intended to be, that the cult of the emperor and that of Lug became associated with one another in people's minds. That at any rate appears to have taken place eventually in Roman Britain. Lyons, however, was not the only place named after Lug on the Continent. Holder in his *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* counts no less than thirteen besides the city on the Rhone. Among them I may mention St. Bertrand de Comminges (H.-Garonne), Lugdunum Vocontiorum, now Montlahue (Drôme), Lugdunum Remorum, now Laon (Aisne), and Lugdunum Batavorum, that is, Leyden in Holland. In this country we have at least two places called after Lleu, but with the compound Lugu-dūnon resolved into *Dunon Lugous* or *Lugovos*, and therefore yielding in Welsh *Din-lléu*, liable to be shortened into *Dínlle*. One of them was the ancient fortress on the Wrekin, and the other the huge mound on the Carnarvonshire coast near the western mouth of the Menai Straits: it is now known as *Dinas Dinlle* 'the Dinlle fort'. Besides these it has recently occurred to me that we have a Lug name of a slightly different kind but formed on exactly parallel lines, in the ancient name of Carlisle. The MSS of the Antoninus Itinerary[1] and the *Notitia Dignitatum*[2] give various spellings of *Luguballium*,[3] which has already been interpreted to mean 'Lug's place': see p. 233 above.

In Ireland I have come across at least two instances: one of them is the name of Louth, in Medieval Irish *Lug-bad* or *Lug-mad*, in the Book of the Dun Cow (fo. 82[a]) it occurs written *Lugmod*[4]: the meaning of the second element *mod* in that compound is uncertain.

[1] See Parthey & Pinder, 467, 474, 476. [2] Seeck's Edition, Occ. 40, 46.

[3] So my account elsewhere of Irish names with *bally*, such as Ballyvourney, Ballinahinch, and the like, cannot stand: see *Oxford Congress*, ii. 205.

[4] The text has the resolved compound in the phrase *oc modaib loga* 'at the *mods* of Lug', and it there says that this meant the same thing as *Lugmod*. Why the plural and the analysed compound are given first does not appear: the latter might be expected last. It looks as if both had been in use together for some time. Irish *mod* (for older *mot*) reminds one somewhat of Old French *motte*.

The other is also found in that ancient MS. and it is *Lug-lochta Loga*, 'fields or gardens of Lug,'[1] somewhere near Lusk in the modern Co. of Dublin.[2] Without searching any further, suffice it to say that these facts adequately indicate the wide area over which the name of Lug was a household word: it was, in fact, coextensive in the West with the entire Celtic world of antiquity.

To return for a moment to the goddess associated with Lug. the idea that a god should require a nurse or somebody to feed him meets us elsewhere in Celtic literature. Cormac's Glossary, roughly ascribed to the ninth century, has a brief reference to such a personage under the name *Anu* or *Ána* (genitive *Anann*, later *Anainne*), as follows 'Ána *i. e. mater deorum hibernensium.* It was well she nursed the gods, and from her name is said *ana* i. e. plenty, also the *Two Paps of Anu* [for two mountains] west of Luachair are named from her as the story goes.' Another article in point occurs on Buanann, a figure whom Cormac compares with Ánu, 'for,' he says, 'as the Ánu was mother of gods so Buanann was mother of the heroes.' The same kind of pagan mythology will be found not only in Irish but also in Welsh literature, namely, in the Mabinogi of Math son of Mathonwy, where Gwydion takes Llew to Dinas Dinlleu to be brought up by a wet-nurse. The striking way in which this passage reminds one of the Irish Lug and his nurse is rendered more striking still when one bears in mind the earthen mound represented as piled by Lug over his nurse at Taillte and when one remembers that Dinas Dinlle is also a mound of earth, in fact one of the biggest in the British Isles. It was doubtless built for some serious purpose.

III

It is the god Lug, as I have suggested elsewhere,[3] that we have in the Rivos of the Coligny Calendar. As Rivos is personally among his worshippers after bringing the crops to maturity, so is Lug after the final slaughter of the Fomori, who were ever bent on ruining the farmer. The chief difference between them is of a purely euhemeristic origin, for while Rivos returns at regular intervals, Lug comes but once and that once only under colour of establishing the feast. Very possibly the period began by being the same, namely, five years. In

[1] We have first *hi luglochtaib logo* 'in the L of Lug' (fo 122a) and later (fo 123a) *do luglochtaib loga*, with the later genitive *Loga* together with a gloss (on the two previous words) consisting of *do gortaib*, 'to the fields,' of Lug.

[2] Forgall Monach's residence is said to have been beside Lusca or Lusk, which means a cave, see O'Donovan's *Battle of MagRath*, p 52

[3] See the *Transactions of the Oxford Congress*, ii 224.

any case the identity of the circumstances and of the season, not to say of the week and the days of the month, seems to lead inevitably to the conclusion as to the identity of Rivos with Lug. This, once it is established, lays the way open for some suggestive comparisons of such a nature as to shed light on both. But before touching on any such question that of the two names has to be mentioned it is needless to say that *Rivos* and *Lug* or *Lugus*, as he was called in Gaul, bear no etymological relation to one another One can only suppose *Rivos* to have been a Sequanian or local name of Lugus This is all the easier to understand when one is assured of the fact that Lug was often regarded not as one god but as several In the Welsh Mabinogi of Math he has a brother Dylan, representing apparently the setting sun, for when his christening is over he hies away to the sea, where he swims so lightly that never a wave breaks beneath him. This is another way of representing him as joining the Fomori of the deep. He is accordingly killed by Govannon his uncle, and the incident has its parallel in Irish, to wit, in the story of the death of Ruadán, a name which meant the red or ruddy one.[1]

The hero here in question is always called Lug, but with varying epithets[2] and with ancestries that do not always appear compatible. His mother is usually called *Ethne* or *Ethle* (genitive *Ethnenn* or *Ethlenn*); and his best known epithet was that of *Lamhota*, *Lamhfhada*, that is *Longimanus*, 'Of the long Hand.' But there is one other epithet deserving of notice, namely, *leth-sĩanach*[3] 'half-red' by way of interpretation a gloss tells us 'that a red colour used to be on him from sunset to morning'. There we have another reference, probably to a ruddy sunset. One of the MSS. goes beyond any mere variation of epithet, since it says, that after Lug mac Ethlenn[4] returned from his great slaughter of the Fomori on the battle-field of Moytura, Lug Scimaig prepared for his entertainment the great feast which is otherwise known as that of the Lugnassad at

[1] See Guest's *Mabinogion*, III 200, 201, *Moytura*, 124, 125, and *Celtic Heathendom*, pp 386–9, where I failed to see that Dylan should be treated as the sun beheld in the act of setting in the sea. As to his death bewailed by the waves compare Stokes & Windisch's *Irische Texte*, II ii. 169.

[2] Most of them will be found mentioned in Stokes's *Rennes Dinnŝenchas*, R Celtique, XV 305, 311, 317, 440; XVI 33, 50, also in his *Moytura*, 55, and p 127 see also Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom*, p 414.

[3] See Stokes's index to his *Moytura*, p 127, s v. *Lug*

[4] This survives in the local folklore of Arvon as *Elan*, which in the spelling of book Welsh would be *Elen* (*Oxford Congress*, II 210), and it deserves notice as an Irish form; for the proper etymological equivalent in Welsh would have been *Edyhon*, *Edylhon*, or some such a vocable A few instances of the same kind are mentioned in my *Celtic Folklore*, pp 523, 541–7.

Taillte. That is to say, we have here one Lug helping the other in the way one day may be said to provide for another.

On the Continent we know that there were more than one Lugus, as proved by inscriptions giving the plural form. One such was found at Avenches in Switzerland, the home of the Helvetii, where a Corinthian capital of white marble bears in large letter-grooves the word LUGOVES (*C. I. L* XIII. 5078), which I would no longer interpret as meaning Lug and his father. Bonn supplies an imperfect dedication to the DoMESTICIS LugoVIBVS which seems to belong here (Holder, II. 345). Lastly, the Celtiberian Uxama in Hispania Tarraconensis, now the Spanish town of Osma, supplies an altar inscribed *Lugovibus sacrum L. L. . . . Urcico collegio sutorum d. d.* (*C I L* II. 2818). This last may be compared with the Mabinogi of Math describing Gwydion and Lleu disguised making shoes for Arianrhod, the latter's mother, and with the Welsh Triad, I. 77 = II. 58, which calls Lleu one of the three golden cordwainers of the Isle of Prydain.[1] Here we have a most remarkable link of indirect connexion between the Celtiberians of Spain and the Celts of the neighbourhood of Snowdon · it illustrates the far extending kind of unity which pervaded Celtic heathendom.

In passing I may remark that the plurality of Lug makes for the view that he was of solar origin rather than a kind of Hermes or Mercury. For you might reckon perhaps as many sun-gods as there were days in the year, and those of them to whom the cult lent a more or less distinct existence probably had local names associated with that of Lug or used instead of it, and one of those names I take Rivos to have been. It is even possible that the identity was originally expressed by means of a compound name Lugu-rivos or Rivo-lugus. I ought to have said that if one could feel certain that the statue, which has been all but restored out of the fragments found at Coligny, represents Rivos, the idea of his being any kind of Hermes would be out of the question. The said fragments constitute an Apollo or a Mars M. Salomon Reinach is decidedly in favour of the former, and he has suggested the parallel mentioned at the opening of the second part of my last paper, p. 82, between Augustus giving August, which was previously Sextilis, his own name, with Rivos giving Rivros the same month, a name derived from his. The cult of Augustus at Lugudunum was associated with the commencement of August; and so was that of Rivos with the fourth, if not once with a still earlier day of

[1] See *Celtic Heathendom*, p 425, where Gwydion is included among the Lugoves but wrongly, as I am now inclined to think. The Welsh Triads thus referred to are to be found in three series in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, II, pp. 1–22, 57–80.

Rivros. Which of the two was the imitator? it was not the god. But Lugus must have been a much greater name at Lugudunum than Rivos, and M. Reinach's parallel suggests to me that the month had there a Celtic name derived from the name *Lugus*, just as *Rivros* was derived from *Rivos*. Needless to say we have no data, but there cannot have been any difficulty, even within the narrow compass of a disyllable.

In the first year the next two days after the thirteenth of Rivros, that is to say, the last two days of the first half of that month, have only the ordinary entry of M D 'Good or lucky day', but not so with the fourth year. This has an imperfect entry on the fourteenth day with MAT intact, and on the fifteenth . . . MAT NS These are the only instances of so many letters of the word *matus*, 'good or lucky,' being given except, in the first intercalary month, where it was the engraver's business to give longer spellings than in the other months, seeing that it was the beginning of the document. There one finds MATV applied to the month, and MAT to two of its days. three others show MA, and one or more of the three may have had MAT, but the metal breaks off short. The fifteenth day of the second intercalation has a ligatured MA and the formula DS MA· NS RIVR, which may be rendered 'A lucky Day, a Night of Rivros'. It suggests that the Rivros entry on the fourteenth was D MAT 'a good Day', and that on the fifteenth DS MAT· NS. whether any qualification had been added to the NS the metal does not show.

The arrangement with the ounn first means that the adjective was in concord, making with it DIIES MATvs 'a good day'. This was probably somewhat more emphatic than when it was compounded with it to make MATv-DIIES, usually abridged into MD The point to be noticed is the special emphasis which the MAT shows to have been laid on the 'goodness or luckiness' of those two days Perhaps some one of our astronomical friends may be able to explain this with reference to the phases of the moon. can it have been full moon on either of those days and could the druids or the priests of the Sequani predict the time of the full moon in the month of August in the fourth year? for to that year our data are unfortunately almost confined in this instance. It is only fair to say, however, that the same entries may have occurred on the same days in the third and the fifth years, in both of which the metal is gone, but the second year has still remaining the word IVOS on the fourteenth, which seems to present a difficulty.

Meanwhile I wish to call attention to a paper by Professor Loth in the account of the *Académie des Inscriptions* for January, 1909. He

points out that the fourteenth night of the month is one of great importance in the Hindu Calendar, but his chief concern is with the text of a Latin inscription found years ago—and since lost—at Gélignieux in the Ain, the department which also includes Coligny. The Professor gives the reference to the *Corpus I. Lat.* XIII, No. 2494, and he reads as follows.—'Memoriae aeternae. M. Rufius Catullus curator n(autorum R(hodanicorum vivus sibi et R(ufio) Rufiano f(ilio), Ruf(iae) Pupae fil(iae et Rufiae Sacirataé fil(iae defunctae annorum XXII aediclam cum vinea et muris ad opus consummandum et tutelam eius et ad cenam omnibus Tricontis ponendam (denariorum binorum) in perpet(uum), sic ut petrudecameto consummatur Hoc opus sub ascia est, haec o(pera) s(ive) l(ocus?) heredem n(on) s(equentur)' He translates from the words *ad cenam* to the end thus—'pour un repas de deux deniers par tête à servir tous les mois de trente jours, de telle sorte qu'il soit consommé le 14^e jour.'

Invoking the Breton numeral *tregont*, 'thirty,' he ingeniously treats *Tricontis* as a Gaulish word referring to the months of thirty days each, of which six out of seven in the Coligny Calendar are described as good or lucky. In other words the meal was to take place in each of the lucky months, namely, on the 14th day, for *petrudecameto*[1] was

[1] See the *Comptes rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, *Bulletin de Janvier*, 1909, pp 25, 26 Hardly a neater piece of evidence could have been produced than *petru-decameto* to prove that the Coligny Calendar is in a Celtic language other than Gaulish, though Professor Loth has brought it forward to prove the contrary: thanks to M Lechat I have had some new readings of the Calendar since, as already mentioned, but they were doubtless unknown to M Loth *Petru-* is akin to Welsh *pedwar* 'four', Breton *pévar*, Irish *cethir*, Latin *quattuor*, that is to say, its initial *p* represents an earlier qu̯ as in Latin How this could help 'pour repousser la théorie du maintien de *p* et de *qu* dans la langue de Coligny' with its EQVOS and QVIMON does not appear, and as to *Sequana* being treated as representing an older Sēko-u̯anā, that theory is familiar enough to me as I tried to work it years ago I think that my learned friend will find it disappointing From his interpretation of the Gélignieux inscription he draws the following conclusion —'Il semble bien certain que le testateur de Gélignieux faisait usage du même calendrier qu'à Coligny' But such certainty as M. Loth found there has been converted into doubt by what has been explained above as to the Coligny entries in point Then without discussing the dates of the Gélignieux inscription and the Coligny Calendar, and without settling whether one or both localities are included in what was the territory of the Sequani or in that of the Ambarri, he embarks on the astounding negative that the language of the Coligny Calendar must have been Gaulish — 'Il est impossible,' he says, 'que la langue du Calendrier soit différente.' On the other hand he maintains its Celticity in the wider sense and as against all comers, Ligurians included. I agree thoroughly with him when he says, 'Si on tient à appeler cette langue *ligure*, il faut, dans ce cas, annexer le ligure au celtique' Thus far I follow my learned friend's lead, but no further.

doubtless the Gaulish word for 'fourteenth'. If, as Professor Loth thinks, the two Gaulish words left untranslated in the inscription are to be traced to a calendar, that calendar must have differed from the Coligny Calendar in more than one respect. Thus it would make the 14th day specially lucky in all the lucky months, whereas that of Coligny pitches the emphasis on the 14th and 15th days of Rivros in the 4th year Of the two days the 15th seems the more important in our Calendar as it is similarly signalized in the second intercalation. The fourteenth and the fifteenth in other months appear in our fragments as ordinary days, far oftener marked simply D than M D. On the whole I should be inclined in the three cases here in question to give the preference to a lunar explanation, if any such should prove possible.

The month of August is dominated by Lug and the festivities at the beginning of Autumn were meant to mark the successful close of the prolonged struggle between the sun-god and the Fomori whose spells and evil magic produced the blasts and blights that were harmful to the growing crops and to the dairy. The first event in the Coligny Calendar for the month of Rivros was the carrying of the firstfruits to the hill, otherwise to the house. the statements combined favour the idea that the house was on the hill. In Ireland and in Wales the hill was represented by an earthen mound of imposing dimensions, and associated with it was a woman who was a fostering mother. This suggests a somewhat subtle question Was she supposed to be buried periodically in the mound when vegetation, after the harvest, seemed to languish and fall asleep, or was the mound simply and frankly a symbol of the great Mother? In either case on the top of the earthen mound may have been a hut of some rude kind, a circle open to the sky, or a temenos of some description, in which the firstfruits were deposited and from which the god could be supposed to watch the games, and especially the racing in his honour on the plain below Should this supposition hold good, we have an intelligible explanation to offer of such remains of antiquity as Silbury Hill overlooking the avenues of Avebury as the racing-ground for a Lugnassad on a grand scale.

From what has already been said one may state without fear of contradiction that the divinity, whether styled Rivos or Lugus, or both, was the god of an agricultural people. He was regarded as the farmer's protector, and this applies equally to Erin and the portion of Gaul represented by the Calendar; but in Gaul outside that part, and in the British Isles, he was also patron of shoe-making and other domestic arts necessary to the welfare of the farmer · nay,

as the all-seeing sun-god he excelled in all the arts and sciences at one and the same time[1] Here his domain could not fail to overlap that of the Gaulish Mercury or Culture Hero, and the growth of the importance of the latter may be surmised to have gone hand in hand with the growth of the trade and industries of Gaul, which, as far as it went, meant the checking of the growth of Lug's importance. In Ireland, on the other hand, we have Lug figuring as the great organizer of the war against the Fomorian foes (*Moytura*, 96-120), as to his own performance suffice it to say that he is represented as casting with an unerring hand a slingstone with which he dispatches at one throw the most formidable of them.[2] Later stories provide Lug with weapons more marvellous but of no special interest here.

Yet it would be an error to treat Lug as a god of war It would be more correct to say that he recalls the Celtic Apollo and his sphere of activity as described by Caesar (vi. 17) *Apollinem morbos depellere*. The enemies on whom Lug warred were the adverse forces of nature which were always ready to manifest themselves as injurious to agriculture and the successful rearing of cattle. They consisted of storms, droughts and wet weather, blights and blasts of all kinds, together with all the subtle mishaps connected with the dairy, which to this day is the stronghold of an obstinate popular belief in malevolent spells and witchery, hardly as yet affected by bacteriological research. The destructive forces, plagues, and pests, were usually pictured as a motley host of monstrous Fomori, greedy giants, and evil sorcerers. Such were Lug's foes, whom he had to hold in check. So when we read of his giving quarter to Bres, a leading Fomorian, at the end of the battle of Moytura, it was only on his promising to Lug that the cows of Erin should always give milk and that the men of Erin should always have corn.[3] Similarly when the story of the conquest of Ireland by the Goidels describes the Tuatha Dé Danann disappearing from the face of the earth of Erin into its hills and knolls to form therein an invisible community of their own, they ultimately pledged themselves not to damage the farmer's corn or milk.[4]

[1] See *Celtic Heathendom*, p 427, and Stokes's *Moytura*, 53-73.

[2] See *Moytura*, 135. On Welsh ground his weapon is called *par*, 'a spear': see the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p 81

[3] See *Moytura*, 149-61 Bres, like some of the figures in Greek mythology, was a half-breed; his mother was of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and his father was a king of the Fomori.

[4] This may have meant that they would not harm them directly or allow the Fomori to do so. Witness Lug compelling Bres to be on his good behaviour. He brought the same sort of compulsion to bear on another Fomorian called Loch, who made the promise—'Till Doom I will ward off from Ireland (all)

The story of Conn of the Hundred Battles will serve as an illustration of the ancient pagan theology. he is declared the rightful king by the voice of the Lia Fáil, and Lug is pleased to grant him extraordinary proofs of his favour towards Conn himself and his descendants, among whom his grandson Cormac was famed for the prosperous seasons he brought with him (O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 44).

This explains the sort of belief underlying what appears as an axiom of the pagan faith of the Insular Celts of both branches It meets us at every point and it meant that the good and rightful king brings with him good seasons and general prosperity for his people. This flowed naturally from the fact of the king being a *persona grata* to the god. By what means he first secured the god's favour, or by what means he was to secure the continuance of that favour, we are not told, beyond the fact that the king must attend in state the Lugnassad assembly in honour of that god: see pp. 222, 230 above. Negatively we are told that absenting himself would render him a man to be pitied that year it was a sin which he and his people would soon have to rue. Besides the case of his being a usurper or of his having a blemish visible on his person, the committal of certain sins, such as incest, was held to bring with it bad seasons and to render his conduct, public and private, the subject of a searching inquiry on the part of the great men of his realm.[1]

Before leaving the great feasts of Erin I may be permitted to point out that something is to be learnt from the geographical distribution of the places with which they are associated. In 1903 I read a paper to the Academy, in the course of which I offered some crude guesses pointing to an early division of Ireland into three parts inhabited by three peoples. One was in the possession of the Ivernians of Munster, another was that called after the Cruithnian or Pictish populations of Ulster, and the third was as it were a wedge driven between them consisting of Leinster and Connaught or a portion of Connaught. This middle region, with Meath as the nucleus, is the one I guessed to have been seized by Goidelic invaders. If you glance at a map of Ireland you will find, what did not occur to me at the time, that the great fairs of Ireland were held in the area which I ventured to regard as the most purely Goidelic of the three. There was the Fair of

plundering by the Fomorians': see *Moytura*, 139, 140, also *Book of Leinster*, fo. 245[b]). Compare Gwyn ab Nûd as a check on the demons of Annwfn, p 225 above.

[1] See among other places *The Annals of the Four Masters*, A D. 14, 15, 76, the Book of the Dun Cow, fo. 54[a], Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom*, pp 308, 309, *Celtic Britain*, p 64; *Revue Celtique*, XXII. 28, and Stokes's *Tripartite Life of S Patrick*, p 507.

Carman where Wexford now stands, there were those of Tara and Taillte, both within the kingdom of Meath, and that of Cruachan Ái or Rathcroghan in the county of Roscommon. This thin outline can be considerably strengthened by inserting in the map the other places which tradition associates with Lug, such as Moytura in the south-east of Sligo, Naas in County Kildare, Lowth in the north-east of the area in question, the Luglochta of Lug near Lusk in County Dublin; lastly Knowth and Newgrange, which marked the centre of gravity of the Goidels' occupation on the Boyne between Tara and Taillte. One cannot in passing help asking the question, Whence came the Goidels? Was it from Britain or from Western Gaul, or was it from both?

Among other things which the study of the month of Rivros in the Coligny Calendar has taught me is the distinction to be observed between the first year and the other four, a distinction which may have extended to the other months. There might be an entry made which was confined to the first year or an announcement made to apply to the five years without being repeated. (1) Of the former kind is *SMO*[1] or *MO* on the eighth day of Samonios or June, which I take to refer to the ceremonial putting up of the Calendar in the Temple, or possibly to that as forming one of the events of a series of feasts extending from the first day to the 8th. Also a series of CANTLI confined to the month of Cantlos of the same year I shall have something to say about them presently. (2) Of the other kind I would specify CANO on the fifteenth day of Equos or February. It was touched upon in my first paper ('Celtae,' p. 30), where I wrote as follows. 'The only Irish word which seems to be in point is *cáin*, genitive *cána*, "law, canon, rule, statute law" in Modern Irish it seems to mean also "a fine, a rent or tribute", and perhaps in the Calendar it referred to a public assessment of some kind. In that case I should take it that CANO was the first part of a compound, meaning, let us say, rate-assessment or rent-fixing. The engraver had

[1] If one may adopt the reading SMO, the possible choice of words must be small, and the Irish word *smacht*, genitive *smachta*, suggests itself for comparison at once, for as Irish *acht* 'but' is OXT in the Calendar (Col 1), so Irish *smacht* would have been *smoxtu*- The meanings of *smacht* in Mod Irish are given as follows in Dinneen's Dictionary. 'restraint, command, subjection, control, correction, chastisement, authority, sway, discipline, awe', and Zeuss[2] quotes the following O Irish instances, p 459[b] (from Wb 26[a]) *predchibid smactu rechto fetarlicce* 'praedicabit ritus legis vetustatis', and p. 771[a] (Wb 18[d]) *dochosnam in-smachta* glossing 'aemulator paternarum traditionum'. If the entry SMO refers to the Calendar, the inference is that the priests in charge of the Temple of Coligny treated the Calendar as their law and authority

left himself no room for another letter, otherwise we might possibly have had a longer piece of some such a word as CANO-COBREXTIO.'

That is confirmed, I find, by comparison with the account of the Fair of Carman which was held every three years. Let me now go back to the poem in the Book of Leinster. There we have the words—

and luadit codana ardaig.
cert cech cana ocus costaid.

O'Curry renders this as follows (II. 44 compare III. 542, 543) —

'Here they proclaim boldly and loudly
The privileges of every law, and their restraints.'

The text is in the Book of Leinster (fo. 216[a]); but in the later MS., the Book of Ballymote (fo 361[a]), the words in point run thus—

And luaigdis fri baga bil
Certa ocus cana in coigid

This sentence O'Curry (II. 43. compare III. 541) has rendered thus—

'Here they proclaimed in flowery words,
The privileges and laws of the province.'

The prefaces to the poems in both manuscripts are equally vague in their terms. The one in the Book of Leinster (fo. 215[a]) runs thus *bretha ocus cocerta a coicid fria tri bliadnaib*, which O'Curry (III. 530) renders 'the laws and rights of the province for three years'. The preface in the Book of Ballymote (fo 360[b]) has it thus: *sechtmain fri agad bretha ocus cocearta a cuicid fri bliadain*, which O'Curry (II 40) renders 'a week for considering and proclaiming the privileges and laws of the province for the [three] years to come'. This occurs also in the Dinnsenchas of Carman and has been Englished by Dr Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, xv. 312, 314· 'a week for promulgating the judgements and laws of the province for a year (*rectius* three years)' It is clear that the later writers such as the authors of the two prefaces had not seized the meaning of their originals. The introduction of the word *bretha*, which usually means judgements or verdicts, looks somewhat awkward in reference to three years to come. But let us return again to the oldest text of these words.—

Cert cech cána ocus costaid.

This means the right or rights of every *cáin* and of every *costad*, in other words the right reckoning, the assessment of every *cáin* and of every *costad*. Now *costad* is an interesting loan-word from O. Norse *kosta*, 'to taste'· compare Mod. H. German *kosten*, meaning 'tasting or enjoying' drink or food. The other word *cáin*, genitive *cána*, meant tribute. So one renders the line by some such words as

'the assessment of all tribute and of all entertainment' The author of the poem was more lucid and direct than his interpreters with their talk about the promulgation of judgements and laws of the province He referred only to the king of Leinster's budget, which consisted of two things, the tribute which he levied and the right which he exercised for himself and his suite of being entertained at the houses of the great men of his kingdom. It is something of the same nature that we have in the Coligny Calendar on the fifteenth of Equos or February, and it is remarkable that the same word is there used as in the story of the festival of Carman. But why that date?

For proclaiming an assessment of revenue that was to apply to a term of years, one would expect an assembly on the scale of the festival at the beginning of Autumn. We have, however, no certain indication of its nature · one can only gather from the name of the month, Equos 'horse,' that its most conspicuous feature was horse-racing or chariot-races. Thanks to a hint given me by my neighbour and friend, Mr. Warde Fowler of Lincoln College, author of 'The Roman Festivals of the Republic', I now regard the Equos of the Coligny Calendar as a Celtic counterpart of the Roman Equiria, which were horse-races run in the Campus Martius in honour of the god Mars on the twenty-seventh of February and the fourteenth of March, dates which are not too far from the Equos of our Calendar. I have long looked in vain for certain traces among the Celts of these islands of any great festival between the Calends of Winter and those of May. But we know from the *Senchus Mór* that there must have been at least one intermediate Oenach of some importance. That legal compilation, when referring to certain things considered as being so indispensable to their owner that in levying a debt by distress the law provided for a stay of one or more days, gives among many other instances that of a plough ox in the time of ploughing in the spring and a race-horse in the time of races. Still more in point is the instance of fête-day raiment, ingeniously ornamented raiment, that is, dress for an *oenach* in the spring, that is, for a solemn festival.[1]

This is encouraging, though it leaves uncertain the order and rank to which such an *oenach* belonged. What we want are traces of a national gathering to hold races in honour of a Celtic god that could be regarded as some kind of a counterpart of the Roman Mars. To remain within our data let us call him Segomo, in honour of whom the Ogam inscriptions of Co. Waterford show no less than three instances of the Déssi giving their sons the name *Netta-Segamonas* 'Champion of Segomo'; that is to say, in about one-

[1] The style is that of the *Senchus Mór*: see vol. i 125-7.

eleventh of the Ogam inscriptions worth reckoning in the whole county that was the principal home of the Déssi In France traces of the cult of Mars Segomo have been discovered from Lyons to the Côte d'Or and from Nice to the Jura. But races or any games in honour of any such pagan god must inevitably have attracted the whole artillery of the early Christian missionaries in Ireland. Hence the well-nigh hopeless task of discovering anything about him or his cult in Erin.

Turning back to the date, the fifteenth of Equos (February), as compared with that of the Roman races on the twenty-seventh of that month, I may remark that, having due regard to the lunar limitations of the Coligny Calendar, as pointed out already (p. 221 above), one could not possibly expect to find any important action taken in the part of the month to which the Roman day points. The latest Coligny day available would be the fifteenth, which is what we have. It may therefore be conjectured that the entry is one that had been moved back to the fifteenth from a date in the latter half of the month, a date approximating more or less closely to the first day of the Equiria at Rome. The same purpose could perhaps have been attained by moving it into the ensuing month, but if it involved a proclamation such as I have indicated, it was probably thought safer to make it a little earlier rather than a little later than in the Calendar of preceding years. Whether such a change had been made in a calendar previous to the one of which we have portions, it is impossible to say. Speaking generally one cannot help surmising that the absence of most undertakings of importance in the second fortnight of the months must be explained on the hypothesis of repeated shifting So probably must the avoidance of the Calends, to which the Insular Celts have shown no certain objection, but rather the contrary: witness the case of the Calends of November, May, and August. Presumably the shiftings in the Coligny Calendar of which we seem to have traces were not effected all at the same time, but one by one, to wit, by the *Rix Tiocobrextios*, that is to say the 'Rex Sacer' who legislated for the Temple at or near Coligny. The Calendar was the embodiment of one serious portion of that legislation.

The avoidance of the Calends, in fact the avoidance also to a great extent of the other days near the beginning of the months, deserves further notice as it recalls the words of Pliny[1] concerning the gathering of the mistletoe by the Druids of Gaul, when they happened to find

[1] Pliny's *Natural History* (ed. Detlefsen), xvi 95 See also *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 218, where 'the sixth moon' should be corrected into 'the sixth day of the moon'

it growing on an oak. 'That is, however, very rarely to be met with,' he goes on to say, 'and when it is found, it is sought with much religious ceremony. They do this especially on the sixth day of the moon, the luminary which marks the beginning of their months and their years.' Here we have the first five days of the month conspicuously avoided. The Coligny Calendar would have suggested one of the days from the fourth to the eighth, with a preference for the eighth over the sixth. It is to be noted that they are even numbers standing near enough to one another, while differing sufficiently to show that the Calendar of Pliny's Druids was no copy of that of Coligny The passage is significant also as suggesting that it was the Druids who had charge of matters relating to the Calendar. In a general sense that is fully borne out by Caesar's well-known account (vi. 13) of the Druids of Gaul in his time.

The public announcement as to tribute and burdensome services was probably the most unpopular event of a great Irish Oenach. Therefore the poet's statement (p. 245 above) as to the proclamation being made 'boldly and loudly' need not be regarded as altogether otiose the proclaimer perhaps had no little need to put on a bold face. In any case the direction of change desired, if any, would presumably be to reduce the term of years for which the proclamation held good, from three to one, as at Taillte, where the Fair is said to have been annual. Looking at it, for instance, from the opposite point of view, one might perhaps expect that this last also had been triennial like that of Carman and the great feast of Tara. The latter is usually said to have been held every three years, but the oldest evidence we have makes it quinquennial I allude to a passage in the story known as *Tochmarc Etáine*, or the *Wooing of Etáine* by Eochaid Airem, king of Ireland, as given in the Book of the Dun Cow, a manuscript written before the year 1106 It runs thus, fo. 129^b 'An invitation is sent from Eochaid, the year after he had obtained the kingship, to the men of Ireland, that they should celebrate the Feast of Tara in order to have their customs and rents apportioned for them [1] to the end of five years.'

[1] A later text besides omitting to mention any term of years inverts the transaction—the Men of Erin were to come to witness the feast and in order that their 'rents and customs' might be made known to the king The MS is Egerton 1782 in the British Museum, and the passage is represented as of uncertain reading in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p 118, where the other text will also be found conveniently placed for comparison On examining the Egerton MS. I found the reading of the passage more hopeless than Windisch had led me to expect: I was not satisfied that I could even make the reading suggested by him fit the spaces in question.

This statement, cited from the Book of the Dun Cow, is in general harmony with one in the same MS. (fo. 52 a), which is to the following effect: 'The two principal gatherings which the men of Erin used to have were these, to wit, the Feast of Tara every Allhallows, for that was the Easter of the pagans, and the meeting of Taillte every Lammasday. Now no exaction, no law ordained by the men of Erin on either of those two occasions could be disregarded till the end of the year should come.'[1] What may have been the exact sense of *recht*, 'law,' in this passage it is not easy to say, but it can hardly have been anything elaborate in the way of legislation. It may be mentioned that a few lines earlier in the same column of the MS. the king's rights at Tara are described in three terms—*cára* (read *cána*) *ocus smachta ocus císa fer nerend*, which Dr. O'Grady renders 'all Ireland's charges, and dues prescribed, and rents.' It may be remarked by the way that the Samain Feast of Tara fills so great a place in Irish legend that we read nothing about the Lugnassad there; but it can hardly be doubted that the latter was also held at Tara, however much it was eclipsed by the Lugnassad at Taillte.

It will have been noticed that the words 'till the end of that year should come' in the last sentence but one quoted from the Book of the Dun belong to a comparatively late state of things, since it suggests an inconsistency with the passage that mentions the customs and rents as covering a term of five years. Possibly all the great festivals of ancient Ireland had as their original periods three or five years. The latter number seems to have a claim to the preference as being here probably the earlier, as in the case of Tara and of the Coligny *lustrum* I must not cite the example of Rome, as there the lustrum seems to have embraced only four years.

This question, however, can be better approached from another standpoint. the preface in the Book of the Dun (fo 52a) to the legend of the Birth of Aed Slane has one or two interesting remarks respecting the two great festivals of ancient Erin. The story opens with the king celebrating the Oenach of Taillte: he was Aed Slane's father, Diarmait son of Fergus Cerbeol, who reigned over Ireland at Tara from A.D. 539 to A.D. 558, when he died: so the Four Masters date him, while the Annals of Ulster are a little less precise. The

[1] The whole passage will be found printed and translated in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, I 82; II 88, 89. There they are called the *Féis* of Tara and the *Oenach* of Taillte the latter is a word of native origin meaning a coming of people to *one* place, a meeting or assembly, while the other word, *féis*, seems to be an adaptation of the romance word *festa*, 'a feast or fête'

passage is an important one for my purpose, and not far from the beginning of the story occurs the following sentence *Bái trá mórdenach mór fecht and hi talltin la goedelu*, which may be rendered: 'Now there was a great *Mór-oenach* being held once upon a time at Taillte by the Goidels.' The adjective *mór* means 'great' and qualifies *Mór-aenach*, which itself includes the same adjective: this suggests that *Mór-oenach*, 'a grand or high assembly,' was distinguished from the ordinary annual *Oenach*. In other words, to speak of the Taillte Oenach as being annual was quite consistent with the fact of that Oenach being every few years a *Mór-oenach* or High Festival, as in the case of the first year of the *lustrum* of the Coligny Calendar Moreover, if the god Lug was ever supposed, as in the Coligny case, to sojourn among his people during the harvest of that year, one can readily understand how Christian influences would combine to put an end to any practice which helped to distinguish that from other years · hence the dearth of direct references to it

Christianity failed, however, to put a sudden end to the Irish fondness for pagan tales, indeed the only chance which the *Mór-oenach* tradition had of surviving was its being worked into a story This seems to have taken place, to wit, in that of the Second Battle of Moytura, which is represented as fought between the Fomori or Giants and the Tuatha Dé Danann under the leadership of Lug. But it was no ordinary war, and the contending parties prepared for it in the same country. The number seven is a favourite one in folklore, so the length of the preparation is repeatedly given as seven years, although when one tries to fix those years one by one in the story they seem to make five rather than seven; but it is hard to tell.[1] Lug organizes the whole undertaking on the part of the Tuatha Dé, and the *terminus ad quem* is the great battle in which he triumphs by slaying Balor, chief of Fomorians at the beginning of winter, at the same time that his king Nuada loses his life.

The scene of this mythic battle is said to have been Mag Tured, Magh Tuireadh or Moytura of the Fomorians, in Tirerril in Co. Sligo.[2] But one reads of another Battle of Moytura, namely near Cong in Mayo It was of the same mythic nature but connected with an earlier portion of the Celtic Calendar, possibly the Calends of May.[3] For in that battle Nuada the king of the Tuatha Dé

[1] See Stokes's *Moytura*, 76, 77, 82.

[2] See the Four Masters' *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* under the year A.M. 3330, and O'Donovan's editorial note

[3] So the Four Masters enter it earlier in their *Annals*, namely, under A.M. 3303, but why twenty-seven years earlier does not appear.

Danann had his hand cut off, which led to his having to give up his throne at once and make room for a while for the Fomorian Brcs. After a time, however, he returned to the throne with a silver hand, from which he was called *Nuadu Argetlam* or 'Nuadu of the silver Hand', in Welsh *Nŭđ*, which was alliterated into *Llŭđ Llawereint* of the same meaning. He was the Celtic Sky-god,[1] and the stories as to his hand form unmistakable parallels to that of the treatment of Zeus by Typho, a well-known Giant or Fomor of Greek mythology.[2]

The two stories of Moytura are in the same manuscript, the one about Nuada's hand is very brief and made to lead up to Lug's triumph see *Moytura*, 8–11. In the light of the ancient Goidelic Calendar, of the existence of which in an earlier period I am about to submit some indirect evidence, I look at the two stories as one. How it came to be regarded as two is not hard to understand it has to do with two great battles. One of them was associated with a place called Moytura, and there was another Moytura ready to hand for the other. In passing I may observe that *Mag Tured* 'Moytura' is supposed to mean 'the plain or field of pillars or towers' in reference to the sepulchral monuments for which both localities are remarkable. Conspicuous burial sites are calculated to attract imaginary battles to account for them when their history has been forgotten. But the point that chiefly decided the Irish in favour of two stories was probably the fact that the Fomori had other names; and here the foes of the Tuatha Dé Danann in the first battle are usually called Fir Bolg 'the men of the bags or sacks'. This I take to have been one of the names of the Fomori, but when Belgic invaders or traders began to visit the coasts of the British Isles the Goidels seem to have nicknamed them *Fir Bolg*.[3] I have guessed one of their real names to have in Irish been *Tuatha Déa Bolgæ*, or *Fir Déa Bolgæ*, which turned into Latin would be *Viri Deæ Bolgæ*, or 'Men of the goddess Bolg'. The double use of the term Fir Bolg has led to grievous confusion, but one reason for the same imaginary beings being called by the names Fir Bolg and Fomori in the two mythic battles is, that the euhemerizing story-teller described them as nearly annihilated in the

[1] For all about him one should now consult Mr A. B Cook's series of articles in *Folk-Lore* for 1904–6, on the European Sky-god. See also Rhŷs's *Celtic Heathendom*, pp 125–8.

[2] *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 120, 121; Apollodorus, i. 6, 3. By the way the Silver Hand story which supplied Nuadu's epithet is not the closest parallel to that about Zeus: a closer one will be found in *Moytura*, 33, 34.

[3] See the Oxford Congress *Transactions* already referred to, ii 205–7.

first of those slaughters. At any rate after killing off the astounding number of 100,000 Fir Bolg one cannot be surprised that when they next appear in the field they are distinguished by another name, that of Fomori.

What *bolg* meant in the name Fir Bolg may, I venture to think, be gathered from a Welsh story. Under the name Fomori we have found the farmer's foes represented as the sorcerers who ruined his dairy and his crops; under that of Fir Bolg they seem to have been regarded rather as thieves carrying away in a magic fashion what he depended upon for his food stores. I refer to the Adventure of Llûđ and Llevelys,[1] where for the Irish word *bolg*,

[1] *Llûđ* has already been equated with *Nûđ*, Irish *Nuadu*=*Nōdons* in his temple at Lydney on the Severn; but *Llevelys* implies an Irish name *Lugu-eslis*- adapted to Welsh pronunciation and containing the same element *esles* or *eslis* as in the Irish *An-eisles*, *An-eislis* and *Éislessach*, genitive *Éislesaig* (Bk. Leinster, 328^{b}, 340^{a}, Meyer's 'Rawlinson, B 502,' fo 129^{b}), the latter name has its exact etymological equivalent in the Welsh adjective *achlesog*, 'affording shelter, defence or protection' (Silvan Evans's *Geiriadur*), from *achles*, which is the equivalent accordingly of Irish *esles* and means 'defence, protection, succour, support', and is frequently found used of manure as a means of strengthening and fortifying cultivated land. compare Mod Welsh *gwrtaith*, 'manure'=Irish *fortacht*, 'help, assistance.' So *Éislessach* meant 'one who afforded help and protection', and *Aneisles* 'one of great help or much protection': compare *Anagat* (p 220). *Éislessach*, genitive *Éislessaig*, established itself in the history of Powys as *Eliseg*. As to *Llevelys* from *Lugu-eslis*, Brythonic accentuation helped to modify that into *Llyg-élis*, which became further changed into *Llyv-élis*, whence *Llev-elis*, *Llefelys*. When the spirant *g*, that is *gh*, escaped elision in Welsh it changed into *v* (written also *f*), into *đ* (written *d*, *t*, later *dd*), or into asyllabic *i* or *ŷ* Take for instance the spoken plural *llefyđ* of *lle*, 'a place,' from *leg*-, Breton *lec'h*, and *gwyryf*, 'virgin' (from Latin *virgo*, as also Breton *guerc'h*, 'a virgin') from *gwyrf*, also *gwyrđ*, *gwyry*, and *gwyra*. This last occurs in the North Cardiganshire *menyn gwŷra*, literally 'virgin butter'. In the old-fashioned process of churning by 'dashing' the milk with a churn-staff in a standing churn, a sort of foamy stuff formed on the surface of the milk and it was collected for use as grease there was no attempt to dress it into butter or to waste salt on it In Carnarvonshire this *menyn gwyra* is called *menyn gwyrđ*, which a native knowing English naturally mistranslates 'green butter', as if this *gwyrđ* were not a different word from *gwyrđ* 'green,' from the Latin *viridis*. The plural of *gwyryf* is *gwyryfon* and there is a church not very far from Aberystwyth, the full name of which, in one of its forms, is *Llan y Gwyryfon*; but Rees in his 'Welsh Saints', p. 328, calls it *Llan y gweryddon*, which he derives from St. Ursula and her 11,000 companions, and the undoctored pronunciation with which I am most familiar is *Llan Gwrđon*, an earlier form of which must have been Llan y Gwyrđon. So much for one of the consonantal changes which helped to make *Lugu-eslis*- into Welsh *Llyfelys*, *Llefelys*. Thus we have also in the *-esselis* at the head of the Nennian Pedigree No. xxiij (*Cymmrodor* ix 180^{a}), where the rubricator never entered the initial letter. The name should be completed, as Mr. Anscombe has done, into *Lesselis*, where, however, the *ss* should be reduced to ſ and the latter treated as a misreading of *f*: this brings us to *Lefelis*, another spelling of

'bag or sack', Welsh *bòl*, 'bag, belly,' we find used the Welsh *cawell*, 'a creel or a basket fitted for carrying on the back.' In Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, III, pp. 312, 314, to which I am referring, she renders it into English as 'hamper'. Now Llûđ's kingdom was afflicted by three scourges or plagues, one of which is described thus, p. 308 'The third plague was, that however much of provisions and food might be prepared in the king's courts, were there even so much as a year's provision of meat and drink, none of it could ever be found, except what was consumed in the first night.' Llûđ in his perplexity sought the aid of his brother Llevelys, who advised him as follows, pp. 312, 314 —

'The cause of the third plague,' said he, 'is a mighty man of magic, who takes thy meat and thy drink and thy store. And he through illusions and charms causes every one to sleep. Therefore it is needful for thee in thy own person to watch thy food and thy provisions And lest he should overcome thee with sleep, be there a cauldron of cold water by thy side, and when thou art oppressed with sleep, plunge into the cauldron.' Now Llûđ after having 'caused an exceeding great banquet to be prepared', undertook the watching in the manner suggested by Llevelys. By repeated recourse to the cold water he succeeded in resisting the magician's somnorific influence, 'And at last, behold, a man of vast size, clad in strong, heavy armour, came in, bearing a hamper. And, as he was wont, he put all the food and provisions of meat and drink into the hamper, and proceeded to go with it forth. And nothing was ever more wonderful to Llûđ, than that the hamper should hold so much' Llûđ makes the magician halt they fight a duel and the thief is vanquished. Should it prove that I am right in applying this story about Llûđ, the Welsh Nuadu, to the explanation of the term Fir Bolg, it follows that the term was not intended to refer to the

Llefelys, written *Llefelis* but rhyming with *ynys* in the Book of Taliessin (Skene, II. 214) The remarks on *Elhseg*, and *Llefelys* in the *Cymmrodor*, XXI 51–5, should be revised as indicated in this note The meaning of such a name if derived, as here suggested, from *Lugu-eslis-* would be 'one who gives help or protection as Lug would or as a prince would' The uncertainty is due to the fact that Lug as the hero *par excellence* acquired the wider meaning of hero generally. It may be that this applies also to such a name as *Loubrit*, *Leubrit*, in the Liber Landavensis for early *Lugu-prit-*, in Irish (Ogam) *Lugu-qurit*, later shortened into *Lucrid*, *Luccraid*, *Luicrith* (*Proc of R Soc of Antiquaries of Ireland*, XXXII. 33, 34), where both the Welsh and the Irish forms must have meant 'one who had the distinguished form of Lug or of a hero' under the stress accent qurit- or qurit- yields in later Irish *cruth* 'form'. Possibly the old Welsh adjective *clod-leu*, 'famous, renowned,' may have originally meant 'enjoying the fame of a Lug or of a hero'.

Fir Bolg's personal appearance as men having big paunches, but as thieves who had bags or sacks for stealing the farmer's stores: this agrees with the Irish tradition better.[1]

It is possible to bring the *lustrum* of five years and the Moytura story into still closer contact and to make them fit very closely. When Lug arrived at the gates of Tara where Nuadu of the Silver Hand was reigning over the Tuatha Dé Danann, he was severely catechized by the porter, and he assured him that he was Samildánach, that is to say, a man 'skilled in many arts together'. After Nuadu had heard from the porter a full account of this remarkable applicant for admission, he ordered him to be tested with the chessboards of Tara: the result was that Lug took all the stakes; and when the king was told this he ordered him to be admitted into the fortress, where Lug 'sat down in the sage's seat, for he was a sage in every art' (*Moytura*, 69–71) Now to the statement that Lug won all the stakes there is appended a sentence which sounds like a gloss: it reads 'so that then he made the *Cró Logo*', on which the editor and translator has the note, 'Probably some hut or other enclosure in which Lugh put his winnings.' It seems that this was something which was shown to strangers visiting Tara long after the meaning of the term *Cró Logo* had been forgotten. It was, I take it, the temenos or sacred enclosure, probably a roofed one forming a kind of a hut, where the things vowed or offered to the god were deposited,[2] including

[1] Compare the guesses mentioned in *Celtic Heathendom*, pp 596, 597, including that which applies to them the story of the Myrmidons mentioned by Strabo (Meineke's ed.), bk. viii 6, 16 (p 532).

[2] Compare and contrast what Caesar says as to the heaps of things devoted to the native Mars in the cities of Gaul in his time, *Bell Gall.*, vi. 17. To come down to a later time the Four Masters, A.D 1163, use the word *cró* in reference to two buildings at Glendalough in Co. Wicklow, namely (1) *Cró Chaeimhghin*, which the editor describes as St. Kevin's House, now St. Kevin's Kitchen, a small church in ruins near the ruins of the Cathedral Church And (2) *Cró Chiarain*, or St Kieran's House, the name of a small church near St. Kevin's Kitchen. In Welsh the *cró* is *crau*, Medieval Welsh *creu*, 'a pigsty,' as in *Creu-Wyrion*, now *Corwrion* near Bangor (*Celtic Folklore*, pp. 69, 70, 526, and Oxford *Mab.* p. 63); from an early form of *creu* is derived *crew-yn*, also pronounced *crowyn*, 'a sty, a kennel.' Under *crewyn* Pughe in his Welsh Dic gives *crewyn o yd*, 'a rick of corn,' *craw* (read *cro*) *y crewyn*, 'the rejoicing of harvest home,' and he adds. 'The last load of corn brought off the ground is called *crewyn* in some parts.' The connexion of the two meanings is not clear to me, but it lands us again in Lug or Lleu's domain, and Pughe, s.v. *crew*, a word of doubtful existence which he explains as a 'shout or outcry', cites in support of that meaning a line by the poet Gwalchmai (1150–90)— *Ef y'ngraid, ynghrew, yn llew llofrudd*: see *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (London, 1801), i. 197, where one ought, I imagine, to read *y'nghreu*, and *lleu*, and translate, 'He like a red-handed Lleu in the heat, in the pit (of the fighting)': compare

among them the firstfruits which the Coligny Calendar represents as brought in on the fourth day of Rivros. For it will be remembered that in the first year of the *lustrum* the god there called Rivos was present *in propria persona* from the fourth of Rivros (August) to the thirteenth inclusive it was his month and it took its name from his.

This is not all; but the rest is best given in the exact words of Dr. Stokes's translation of *Moytura*, 74 'Now Nuada, when he beheld the warrior's many powers, considered whether he (Samildánach) could put away from them the bondage which they suffered from the Fomorians. So they held a council concerning the warrior. This is the decision to which Nuada came, to change seats with the warrior. So Samildánach went to the king's seat, and the king rose up before him till thirteen days had ended.' Here we have distinct traces of an ancient Goidelic Calendar, and it seems to have represented Lug as being present from the first of August to the thirteenth, both days inclusive. In that case the Druids of Coligny may be regarded as having, in obedience to their rule of avoiding the first days of their months, actually curtailed the presence of the god Rivos with his people by three days, which from a theological point of view looks, to say the least of it, like a daring interference. At all events here we have Lug playing exactly the part of Rivos in the month of Rivros (or August) in the Calendar. After this it seems needless to discuss any further the question of the practical identity of Rivos with Lug one may close the question with the Q. E. D. of the schoolboy's Euclid.

This enables us to account for the fifty-three days which the druid required before he answered Conn's questions concerning the Lia Fáil, p. 230 above. The number analyses itself into forty days plus thirteen, and if we count backwards from the thirteenth of Rivros[1] we come to the First of August. Then we count the whole of Dumannios as a month of twenty-nine days, and we have eleven days left, which counting still in the same direction bring us to the fifth day of the Atenouxtion of Samonios[1], which fails to reach back to the solstice by some two or three days. But this reckoning is according to the Coligny Calendar, and we do not know what number of days the ancient Irish Calendar gave to the months here in question and the months preceding them in the reckoning by the Insular Celts (including the Goidels) of their year beginning with the Calends of Winter or the First of November. In any case we

such Irish terms as *cró bodba* and *cró catha* in Meyer's *Ir Lexicography*. The firstfruits as such have, as far as I can discover, dropped out of Welsh folklore, which concentrates itself on the last sheaf or the last load of corn and on the supper following

should probably be right in regarding Irish mythology as having fixed the Lia Fáil incident on or near Midsummer's Day, and Conn's interview with Lug and his Consort on the thirteenth of August. In the Coligny Calendar this was the last day of the sojourn of Rivos among his people at any rate there is no suggestion of his being present later. It all goes to add emphasis to the importance of the Ides of August, when Nuadu resumes his seat on his throne. Not only is the story of Conn directly based on the Goidelic Calendar, but the Moytura story proves to be an ancient myth probably kept on record to explain the Calendar, to be in fact a running comment on it. When the pagan Calendar was ultimately rejected, some of the story persisted and gathered into itself other elements consisting, for example, of Rabelaisian pictures of certain members of the Goidelic pantheon, such as the grotesque and good-natured Dagda But the story seems to suggest nothing to compare in repulsiveness with the Greek account of Kronos, for instance.

Here it must be mentioned that the provisional answer given at the beginning, to the question, to what god the Temple belonged, in which the Calendar was set up, requires to be reconsidered. For the analogy of Nuadu, whose name in one of his fanes in Roman Britain was *Nūdons* (*Nōdens*), dative *Nōdonti* (*Nōdenti*),[1] suggests that the first line of our Calendar, now represented by the initial D alone, had as its first two words DEVVO NODONTI. But this name of the god has never been detected on the Continent, and the designation of the god may have been a different one there. Then there comes back to us another question, Whom does the restored statue represent? Is it Nudons or his lieutenant Rivos? This is all the harder to answer as the Temple may have been adorned with statues of both, perhaps with those of other divinities as well.

IV

There remain several questions of interpretation, which I think I can now attempt to answer. One of them relates to the meaning of the word IVOS, which is one of frequent occurrence in the Calendar. Its signification seems to have been, as I have already assumed, that of a banquet or some friendly meeting of the kind. Etymologically I take it to be of the same origin as the Sanskrit neuter *ávas*, 'satisfaction, delight, enjoyment,' with which is connected Sanskrit *avasá-m*, 'refreshment, nourishment, travelling expenses.' The European form corresponding to *ávas* would be *evos*, which is supposed to

[1] See my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 445-8.

underlie the Greek adjective ἐν-ηής, 'kind, gentle.' See Walde under the Latin verb *aveo*, and Fick under *évô*, *éva*, 'to be fond of, to favour' (i^iv^. 12). In the Calendar one frequently detects *i* used instead of *e*, so Fick's *évos* might occur in it as IVOS, which it certainly does to the entire exclusion of *evos*[1] so far as our data go. The Ivos may have connoted a great deal more than a meeting for mere eating and drinking it may have been at once a tribal reunion and a sacrifice In any case it would not have figured in the Calendar unless it were an institution of importance, and one may draw the same inference from the fact that the word enters into personal names not only in Gaul but also in the British Isles.

The following and more will be found duly mentioned in Holder's *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* —*Ivo-rix*, dative *Ivo-rigi*, f (Bordeaux), which may be rendered 'Queen of the Ivos', *Ivo-mag-us*, 'Slave of the Ivos' (Cuneo, in Piedmont), *Ivi-mar-us* 'Great man of the Ivos' (Auxerre). In Ireland we have in Ogam the genitives *Iva-geni* (*Journal of R. Soc. Ant. of Ireland*, xxxviii. 54) 'Son of the Ivos' with *geno-s*, genitive *geni*, meaning son in a metaphorical or non-physical sense as usual we seem to have the later Irish form in *Eo-gan*, gen. *Eogain* or *Eoguin*; *Iva-cattos* 'Warrior or champion of the Ivos' (Brit. Academy paper of *Studies in Early Irish History*, offprint, p. 2) the genitive (with *b* for *v* after the late Latin fashion) occurs as *Ebi-catos*, found at Silchester (Calleva) in Hampshire. For the *i* one may compare *Ivimarus*, and equate the form otherwise with the later Irish genitive *Eo-chada* (ib. p 4). Other forms, with initial *e*, are *Evo-talis* (Rheinzabern, in Rhenish Prussia) = Irish *Eo-thail*, genitive *Eo-thaile*, *Evo-lengi*, *Evo-lenggi* in Roman letters in Pembrokeshire (Rhys's 'Lectures on W. Philology', pp. 393, 399): this genitive appears in Irish MSS. as *Eolaing*, *Eulaing*. In *Evoiurix*, cited by Holder from a silver coin of the Boii in Pannonia, we seem to have evidence of an adjectival stem *evoiu* or *evoio* = *evos-io-* from the stem

[1] *Evos*, however, shows the earlier vowel in this case, and we possibly have a parallel in the name of January, which is written in the Calendar mostly SIMIVISONNios but also SEMIVISonnios, now and then But the derivation of the word is uncertain. that given in *Celtae & Galli*, p 29, turns out untenable Perhaps the words to compare are Welsh *hefyd* 'also, likewise, at the same time', and Latin *simītū* 'at once, together,' so that the compound is to be interpreted as meaning 'like spring, resembling spring weather, next to spring' With *vison-* compare O Welsh *guiannuin* (*gwaeann6yn*, Skene, ii 308), Mod W *gwanwyn* and *gwinwyn*, O Cornish *guaintoin*, from an early *vesant-eino-*, the earlier portion of which agrees with Sanskrit *vasantá* 'spring'. But -VISONN and -VISON seem to imply *-visŏn-ịo-s*, where the *-vison-* can be referred to the group of forms discussed by Walde under the Latin *vēr*, *vēris* 'spring'. Compare DVMANN and DVMAN probably for *Dumăn-ịo-s*

evos in meaning the compound was doubtless parallel to *Evo-rix* and signified 'King of the Ivos'. In Welsh the *ev* of *Evos* began by being *eu* (with *u* as in Italian or German), which in most of South Wales became *ou* (with *u* like French *u*, ultimately like German *u* and even *i*), and in North Wales *eu* with the same *u*, so we have, in the Nennian Genealogies in the British Museum MS. Harley 3859, such a name among others as *Ou-tigu*(*n*) (*Cymmrodor*, IX 174), which occurs in the Liber Landavensis as *Eutigirn* 'Sovereign of the Evos', and should be now *Eudeyrn*. The Liber Landavensis also has the remarkable compound *Ou-leu* which occurs in Irish as *Eo-log*, genitive *Eo-logo* (Book of Leinster, fo 362[c], 367[b]), meaning 'the light, the Lug, or the hero of the Evos', according to the precise meaning to be attached to the second element. see pp. 232, 253 n. above.

The most usual place for IVOS in the Calendar is at the end of the entries on the first three or four days of the month—at the beginning of Elembivios we have five in succession—and at the close of the month, where they run up to five somewhat more frequently. When a solitary Ivos occurs it is commonly introduced by SINDIV, which is in Irish *indiu* 'to-day'. We have no less than six instances more or less fully written of SINDIV IVOS 'to-day (there is) an Ivos'. They are on the following days Giamonios, day viiii (Col. 9), Simivisonnios, day viiii (Col. 12), Elembivios, At. x (Col. 3), Edrinios, At. x (Col. 7), also At. x (Col. 13) and At. x (Col 16) Three times the first of a number of Ivos at the beginning of a month is introduced by EXO, that is, we have EXO IVOS = ECSO IVOS 'at this point, or here, (is) an ivos'. So on Anagantios, day i (Col. 8), and on Giamonios, day i (Col. 15); but on Dumannios, day i (Col. 4), we have IX instead of EX, the entry being IXIVOS for IXO IVOS = ICSO IVOS, at the end of a very crowded line. The third of the four Ivos days with which Samonios (June) begins has the entry EXINGIDVM IVOS, which I treat as EC SIN. GIDVM. IVOS 'with the Gidum. an Ivos'. This is only in the first year, while on the same day in the third year an imperfect entry seems to suggest the holding of an Ivos by another group or part of the state see my first paper, pp 22, 23. The entries on the thirteenth day of Rivros in Years ii and iv, namely, IV G·RIVRI, have already been touched upon (p. 219). In Years iii and v it is missing, while Year i has DEVVO RIVO RIVRI, which has been noticed more than once as one of the most remarkable lines in the Calendar. Lastly the month of Cantlos (May) closes Year i with IVO DIB CANT which I interpret as IVOs DIBIN CANTLOBIN 'an Ivos or banquet with two songs'.

This leads me to the subject of Cantlos: it is somewhat unfortunate

that this was not only the name of the month of May but also the ordinary word for a song or hymn, at any rate in the oblique cases: it may have also meant an incantation. But in the entry last quoted it cannot have meant the month, and that is probable also in the case of the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of Cantlos [1], each of which has the entry D CANTLI. I would treat it as meaning 'a day of song, possibly of incantation'—perhaps the distinction is unnecessary—and consider that both were included among the events of those three days. At any rate, to call each of them 'a day of Cantlos' would seem meaningless, as the month was Cantlos. It is different where we have CANTL or CANTLI here and there, as in the preceding month of Edrinios. According to analogy, the entry in those cases refers to Cantlos, not to a *cantlon* of any kind.

This is also the case where the name of the month is a part of the writing opposite a particular day. Take for example those where we have PETIVX (also PETI) standing for PETIVXTION or its plural PETIVXTIA compare ATENOVXTION 'the series of second nights' forming the latter half of each month, and TRINVXTION or TRINOUXTION 'a *trinoctium*'. PETIVXTION is probably of the same origin as the Irish *pit* 'a portion of food' (in the Book of Deir *pet*, genitive *pette*), 'a division, a portion': see Stokes's *Goidelica*, p. 120. So the word here in question probably meant a small portion, a piece or fragment, and such an entry as that on Rivros iii At. viii, to wit, D PETI RIVRI ANAG, may accordingly be translated, perhaps, a 'Day consisting partly of RIVROS and partly of ANAGANTIOS'. But more often this kind of entry has no PETIVX · take for instance the second intercalary Month, At. viiii, D GIAMO CANT, which seems to mean a 'Day of Giamonios and of Cantlos'

There remain then referring to song, hymn, or incantation, the four entries already indicated in the month of Cantlos in the first year; and here it is almost certain that had we the nominative case, it would prove to have been the neuter *cantlon*, which the word must have been in the other Celtic languages. On the other hand the word for month was masculine, as in the kindred languages of Western Europe, so for the month a masculine Cantlos was either ready to hand, or, if not, had to be supplied. Now of the four entries as they stand, the one at the close of the month announcing an 'Ivos with two songs' referred doubtless to two hymns by or for the worshippers of Rivos or Lug, one directed to that god himself and the other to the goddess associated with him, whether you call her his nurse or his consort. That some of the speakers of the Gaulish language sang hymns to their divinities we know from an inscription found near Auxey in the Côte-d'Or,

which runs as follows (see the Prussian Academy's *Corpus Inscr. Latinarum*, XIII 2638, and my paper on the 'Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy', No IV:—

Iccavos · Oppianicnos ievrv · Brigindoni cantalon

'Iccavos son of Oppianos made to Brigindo a hymn.'

Whether the custom was to recite or sing the composition publicly, or merely to dedicate it to the divinity, it is hard to say, but there seems to have been no reason why the custom, whichever it was, should have been confined to the Celts who spoke Gaulish.

The remaining three entries occur, as already stated, on the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of the first year of Cantlos in other words they come just a month before the entry SMO on the eighth day of Samonios[1] (June) This latter probably refers to an event not unconnected with the putting up of the Calendar, as I have tried to show. See p. 220 above, and compare the relation suggested as between the fourth day of Rivros and the fourth day of Anagantios. The occurrence of those three days is not too late for the inclusion of them among the events associated with the beginning of Summer, the first day of which has always stood out as a yearly landmark among the Goidels, who called it Beltene or Lá Beltene 'May-day', in Welsh *Calán-mai* 'Calends of May', which is matched by *Calan-gáeaf* 'Calends of Winter, or First of November' By the first of May the advent of Summer was indicated by many signs, among others the corn was growing apace, and becoming an object of great concern both to Lug and the Fomorian pests that wished to destroy it. A passage in the story of the Battle of Moytura indicates how the ancient Irish farmer looked at this part of the year see *Moytura*, p 157, where Dr Stokes has translated into English as follows 'This has suited us', saith Maeltne [to Lug] 'the spring for ploughing and sowing, and the beginning of summer for the end of the strength of corn, and the beginning of autumn for the end of the ripeness of corn and for reaping it. Winter for consuming it.'

Though the beginning of summer must have been considered a time when the help of Lug and his protection can have been hardly less necessary than when the corn was ripening about the beginning of autumn, there is a lack of stories referring directly to his activity at the beginning of summer or to functions in his honour to rouse him to do his best for the farmer during that time. Such as we have only refer to Lug indirectly, and have therefore to be fitted in, so to say, as best one can. The first to be mentioned comes not from Ireland but from this country, namely, from the *Din-Lleu* or *Dūnon-Lugous* on the Wrekin in Shropshire.

Witness the following brief statement from Miss Burne in the *Memorials of Old Shropshire* (London, Bemrose and Sons, 1906), p. 134 'WREKIN WAKES, held on the first Sunday in May, were distinguished by an ever-recurring contest between the colliers and the agricultural population for the possession of the hill. This is said to have gone on all day, reinforcements being called up when either side was worsted The rites still practised by visitors to the Wrekin doubtless formed part of the ceremonial of the ancient Wake.' Nothing could have been more thoroughly in keeping with the contests associated with the festivities in honour of Lug in Ireland, than the struggle on the Wrekin described by Miss Burne as carried out between the farmers and the colliers.

It is right, however, to say that the Moytura story does not associate Lug with any event at the beginning of May; but there is another story, already mentioned, that may fairly be said to suggest it, namely, that of Carman. This relates how the witch Carman and her sons were engaged in destroying the milk and the corn of the Tuatha Dé Danann and how the latter appointed Lug and their other champions to pursue and checkmate the devastators. At length Lug and his friends succeeded so far as to seize Carman as a hostage and expel her sons from Ireland. The witch languished for some time and died at the beginning of Autumn. So we may treat Lug's pursuit of her as dating three months earlier, that is about Beltene or May-day. The eve of May-day was, no less than that of November, one on which the witches and all other spirits of evil were believed to be abroad till dawn. It admits of ready illustration by reference to practices connected with Beltene in the Isle of Man within the lifetime of men and women whom I cross-examined years ago on the subject. The evidence which I got then has since been summarized in my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 305–10, on which I now proceed to draw. the chapter was mostly written in 1891 —

By May-day in Manx folklore is meant May-day old style, or *Shenn Laa Boaldyn* as it is called in Manx. This was a day when systematic efforts were made to protect man and beast against elves and witches. Then people carried crosses of rowan in their hats and placed May-flowers over the tops of their doors and elsewhere as preservatives against all malignant influences. With the same object in view, crosses of rowan were also fastened to the tails of the cattle, small crosses which had to be made without the use of a knife—I exhibited a tiny specimen at one of the meetings of the Folklore Society. Early on May morning they went out to gather the dew as a thing of great virtue. At Kirk Michael in the west of the

island one woman, who had been out on this errand years before, told me that she washed her face with the dew in order to secure luck, a good complexion, and immunity against witches. The break of this day was also the signal for setting the ling or gorse on fire, which was done in order to burn out the witches wont to take the form of the hare. For fire appears to have been the chief agency relied on to clear away the witches and other malignant beings, and I heard of this use of fire having been carried so far that a practice was sometimes observed—as, for example, in Lezayre parish—of burning gorse, however little, in the hedge of each field on a farm in order to drive away the witches and secure luck.

The man who told me this, on being asked whether he had ever heard of cattle being driven through fire or between two fires on May-day, replied that it was not known to him as a Manx custom, but that it was an Irish one. A cattle-dealer whom he named used on May-day to drive his cattle through fire so as to singe them a little, since he believed that it would preserve them from harm. He was an Irishman, who came to the island for many years, and whose children were settled in the island at the time of our conversation. On my asking if he knew whence the dealer came, he answered 'From the mountains over there', pointing to the Mourne Mountains looming faintly in the mists on the western horizon. The Irish custom known to my Manx informant interested me, both as throwing light on the Manx custom and as being the continuation of a very ancient practice mentioned in Cormac's Glossary. In Stokes's edition of O'Donovan's translation of that compilation (Calcutta, 1868), the article runs thus, p. 19, but see also Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 6: 'Belltaine "May-day" i. e. *bil-tene*, i. e. lucky fire, i. e. two fires which Druids used to make with great incantations, and they used to bring the cattle [as a safeguard] against the diseases of each year to those fires.' In the margin we have the further explanation, that—'they used to drive the cattle between them.'

So much for the Manx evidence and the Irish practice, modern and ancient, to the mention of which it led, it will have been seen that the great object of the Manx practices—especially the setting of the gorse on fire—was to clear out the witches, the fear of whom is very genuine still in the Isle of Man. This recalls the story of Lug as druid of the Tuatha Dé Danann pursuing the witch Carman and her sons. In Cormac's Glossary they are not personified as witches or fomori, but simply called 'the diseases of each year'. The kindling of the fires by the Druids was accompanied with songs or incantations. the manuscripts use two phrases, *tria thaircedlu*, that is, '*per vati-*

cinia,' where we have the accusative plural of *tairchetal* 'a prophesying, *vaticinium*', and *co tinchetlaib* 'with incantations', where we have the dative plural of *tinchetal*. It will be noticed that both *tair-chetal* and *tin-chetal* involve the simpler vocable *cétal* 'song, a singing, a charming', the etymological equivalent of the *cantlo-* of the Calendar. It will also have been noticed that the adjective *mór* 'great' is applied: this, in case the interpretation here offered should prove sound, is fully borne out by the repetition of CANTLI on the three successive days mentioned above, in the month of the same name. This means that the same thing went on during those three days, and, as it is found confined to the first year, it was doubtless regarded then as taking effect throughout the five years of the lustrum. The same remark is perhaps applicable to the *cantla* at the end of the month, which are represented as accompanying an Ivos or banquet; for they may have combined the character of hymns in praise of Rivos (as Lug) and his Consort with that of incantations against the dark powers.

Next may be mentioned a formula INIS (or INNIS) R, which occurs in our fragments sixty-two times, that is on an average once in every one of the sixty-two months of the lustrum. Probably they would occur much oftener, if we had the whole Calendar, possibly twice as often. It is to be noticed that in the Atenoux. of the first intercalary month, line 34, the S of INNIS is closely followed by traces of the perpendicular stem of a letter which I have ventured to insert as a small T. This would make the word into INNIST, which may have been its full length, as in the case of its Latin equivalent *inest*. It may, however, have been in full INISTI like the Greek ἔνεστι. The Irish of the simplex is *is*, Welsh *ys*, both of which are proclitics: compare the Greek ἐστί. Then as to the R, it has occurred to me that ROC or ROG in line 12 of the second intercalary Month (Col. 9) stands for the same word which is elsewhere represented by the single letter R. As a rule the intercalaries have the abbreviations less abbreviated than in the ordinary months: the word in question occurred probably in full in the first intercalation.

It is needless to say that the single instance above is wholly insufficient to establish ROC as against ROG. I give the preference to the latter for a reason which I am about to explain, and I apply it in the case of line 34 in the first intercalary month, which will then stand thus, INNIST ROG . . TIT . . . It ought to have been stated that the formula in question is mostly preceded by NS or N. we have NO . . . once, but all stand for the word for night which was probably NOTS (p. 216 above, and 'Celtae', pp. 9, 18, 25). In this

case the NS comes in the previous line. So the formula means 'Such and such a night' in it there is a ROG . TIT. . I guess ROG to represent a Celtic word of kindred origin with Latin *rogus* 'a funeral pile', but applied generally by the Sequani to a bonfire or perhaps to a torchlight procession; more probably the former. One cannot, however, run ROG and TIT into a single vocable, for according to Celtic phonology they would yield ROXTIT and not ROGTIT or ROCTIT. Moreover, TIT cannot have been quite the end of the word but rather -T-ITIO where the first T doubtless belonged to the stem of the word, the question is what that stem can have been. I submit a conjecture which may possibly satisfy the conditions the word was a compound ROG-ṆT-ITIO or ROG-ANT-ITIO,[1] meaning 'pile kindling or the act of setting fire to a collected heap of fuel' What meaning and importance may have been attached to such bonfires could only be conjectured; but they probably were of religious significance and supposed connected in some way with the land, the cattle, and the farmer's prosperity. From the analogy of the Beltene fires we may infer that they were meant to drive away the witches, in other words to safeguard the cattle against diseases of all kinds.

One of the common entries in the Calendar begins with PRINI or PRINNI, three times PRINO or PRINNO[2] in the singular number I take these words to mean payments or contributions made in the form of tributes or taxes. Among the related words may be mentioned the Old Irish verb *renim* 'I give', where the elision of original *p* is regular, as also in the compound *as-renim*, enclitic *é-rnim* 'I give away, spend, pay', with the cognate noun *é-ricc* 'the payment of certain fines, an eric fine'. As in the Greek cognates πέρνημι, πιπράσκω 'I sell', the nasal consonant is not carried through the paradigm witness *ni-riat* '*ne dent*' (Zeuss, *Gr. Celtica* ii, p. 447 b), and all the reduplicates such as *ro-rir* in *rorir a einech ar chuirm* '(he) sold his honour for ale' (Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p 81), *ririub* in

[1] Compare the Modern Irish *aduighim* (also *f-aduighim*) 'I kindle, I set on fire', *adughadh* (also *f-adughadh*) 'the act of kindling', both with *ad-* for earlier *at-* = *ant-*, Sc Gaelic *fadadh* 'the act of kindling, of inflaming', Manx Gaelic *foaddey* 'kindling, lighting a fire', also *foaddan* 'a match to kindle fire' (Cregeen) In Welsh we have from the same root *ennyn* (or *ynnyn*) 'a kindling', *ennynn-af* 'I shall kindle', from *enn-ynt-af*. The Goidelic dialects seem to have had *ant-* also denasalized into *at-*, whence such a word as O. Irish *aithinne* 'a fire-brand', Mod Irish *adhann* 'a rushlight, the herb coltsfoot used as tinder'

[2] The doubling of the *n* in PRINNO and PRINNI is not etymological · it is the spelling of *ĭn* under the syllabic accent. We have the same thing exactly in INNISTI = IN-ISTI = Latin *in-est* Greek ἔν-εστι

nocomiub ríg n-Érend ar fer ná fetar claind no cenel dó 'I will not give up the king of Erin for a man as to whom I know not what pedigree or race is his' (Ibid. p. 127), *rir in nirir mac de ar díbad* '(she) gave not the son of God up for gain' (Stokes's *Goidelica* [Broccán's Hymn], p. 137). In these the verb with the preposition *ar* 'for' has its meaning narrowed to that of selling; but that may also be the sense required where the phrase with *ar* is absent, as for instance in O'Davoren's Glossary, *ni ria ni cria do dodhamna* 'let thy weanling neither sell nor buy' (Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, p 79, and Zeuss, *Gr. Celtica* ii, p 1090 b) Now the act of giving away for a price or an exchange not mentioned and that of paying a debt not specified come near enough to one another in the case of two peoples like the Goidels of Ireland in the ninth century, let us say, and the Sequani of Gaul in the first or second, to permit us to assume that PRINOS in the Calendar is a word of the stock here instanced.[1]

Now the fragments of the Calendar show no fewer than forty-three of these PRINI, and there may have been some fifty more in the original document · the data are wanting. They fall within the first half of the month with the exception of two. In fact nearly all important activities excepting those two belong to the first fortnight, as already observed see pp. 216, 221, 255 above for the ill luck associated with the waning moon. The two exceptions are accounted for by their falling near the Solstice, the one in the fourth year and the other in the fifth. In Atenoux. ii the entries read respectively PRINI SAMONII SINDIV 'the payments of Samonios to-day' and PRINOs SAMONIos 'the Samonios payment (to-day)'. There may have been a similar entry in the third year, but the whole of the Atenoux. is there wanting.

The remaining forty-one PRINI within the first half of their months fall into two groups. (1) Fifteen of them have the word PRINI qualified by LOVDIN,[2] which is probably an abbreviation,

[1] Should it be thought that the Irish words compared point to the idea of gift rather than of payment, it would only follow that the Sequani perhaps regarded their payments in question in the light of gifts We are thereby reminded of the English word 'benevolence' when it was used for 'a forced loan or contribution levied, without legal authority, by the kings of England on their subjects' see the New English Dictionary

[2] This probably stood for *loudīno-s*, plural *loudīni* or *lōdīni*, connected etymologically with a verb which we had at p 245 above as *luadit*, translated by O'Curry as 'they proclaim' Compare the *Gram Celtica*, p 476a, where Zeuss has rendered *luaidfidir* by *praedicabntur*, and Stokes's *Oengus*, Aug 23, where he renders *luad mbetha* by 'a world's talk' · he treats as cognate Latin *laus*, genitive *laudis*, 'praise' So PRINI LOVDINI would seem to have been payments fixed by announcement or proclamation.

though after the first time of mention it is further abbreviated into LOVD (or LOD), sometimes LO. (2) Seventeen payments have been accounted for: the remaining twenty-six have as qualification a word, which is the first time written LAGET · once or twice afterwards it is LAGE or LAGI, but usually LAG or LA. What this attribute meant is a matter of mere conjecture[1] Looking at the forty-one instances from another point of view, I may remark that the leading months Cantlos, Rivros, Cutios, and Equos cover twenty-one of the PRINI, while the remaining eight months have between them only twenty, a fact which will serve to add emphasis to what has been said as to the months with the disyllabic names (p. 218 above). On the other hand I am not sure of more than three out of the sixty ordinary months in the lustrum, which do not show dates for payments. If we had the whole Calendar we might perhaps have, instead of three, some six or seven, possibly more.

Whether the system of payments can ever be understood in the fragmentary state of the Calendar it seems hard to say But if any one, building on the data which it supplies, should say that, roughly speaking, the people represented by this Calendar paid certain of their dues every month, he could hardly be far wrong Such a statement is on record as to payments to the Roman treasury, and I have to thank Mr. Warde Fowler for calling my attention to it Dio Cassius relates how Augustus entrusted the government of Gaul to his Gaulish freedman Licinius, and how the latter, giving himself the airs of a Roman, grievously oppressed the peoples of his own nationality. Among other things we are told that his villany reached such a pitch, that, as they were in the habit of paying certain taxes to the state treasury every month, he once forced fourteen months into the year. For he insisted that as the month of December was the tenth month, they must reckon two more months, and pay the taxes proportionate to those two months.[2]

[1] LAGIT, LAGE recalls at once the Irish word *laget*, *lagat*, Modern Ir *laighead*, genitive *laighid* 'littleness, smallness, fewness'. This, however, is not the word which we want, but it points to the analogy of *an-aganto-* mentioned at p. 14 above, namely, to a participial formation *laginto-* or *lagento-* of another conjugation and implying a possible verb *laigim* 'I lessen', yielding a passive participle *laigthe* 'lessened' This latter in its early form would be *lagitịo-* (perhaps *lagetịo-*) So the payments in question would be each a PRINOS LAGITios, in the plural PRINI LAGITii or LAGITi 'lessened or reduced payments', or perhaps simply 'smaller, lesser or minor payments'.

[2] The passage comes in Book liv 21 and runs as follows: *καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε κακοτροπίας ἐχώρησεν, ὥστε ἐπειδή τινες εἰσφοραὶ κατὰ μῆνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτὰς ποιῆσαι· λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλούμενον δέκατον ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς Αὐγούστους (ὧν τὸν*

The PRINNI entries suggest some further questions on which I wish to make one or two remarks. The first relates to the two payments near the Summer Solstice. The solstice is the one point which we seem to find fixed in the Calendar, and in the first year, the year opening with the intercalation immediately preceding Samonios (June), it occurs on the second day of the Atenouxtion of that month, or it began, let us say, on that day (see p. 217 above). But by the middle of that month in the following year of the Calendar the Solstice would be some days out, as the year without the Intercalation was only 355 days. Still the Calendar repeats the term Trin(o)uxtion in the case of Atenoux. ii in the second year. In the third year the date would, presumably, not have been given as being still further out. the metal is missing. At any rate in the fourth and fifth years we have instead of any reference to the Solstice merely entries meaning 'the Payments of Samonios to-day'. Why each of the five years was not supplied with the date of the Solstice does not appear, but possibly the druid legislating for the Temple did not wish to expose the faultiness of his clumsy lunar reckoning. Moreover, this was in the waning half of the month or what was supposed to be such, a period which aroused his superstitious fears; but he did not seem to mind dating two payments to be made then.

Those two payments differ in one particular from the other *Prini* transactions occurring in the Calendar in that they have the day letters D and MD prefixed to them respectively, as in the case of other entries. On the other hand the payments in the earlier half of the month are conspicuous by their occupying the part of each entry, where otherwise a description of the day would occur indicated by the letters D, MD, N. Take for example days iv, v, vi of Dumannios[iii], where the entries are as in the margin.

◦IIII	D	IVOS
◦V	PRINNI	LAGE
◦VI	D	

Under the D of the fourth day and over the D of the sixth we have the P of PRINNI to the exclusion of the day lettering Sometimes PRINNI begins well to the left of the vertical column of the day initials. In any case it is due to no lack of room witness the entries on days vii, viii, viiii of Rivros[iii] which stand as in the margin. Here PRINI has been placed of set purpose between

◦VII	MD	
◦VIII	PRINI	LO
◦VIIII †II	MD	

the MD of the previous line and the MD of the ensuing one, whereas LO is at the end of its line a long way from

μὲν ἑνδέκατον, τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον ὠνόμαζε) νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν.

PRINI, as if to show that on that day there was nothing to say except what was indicated by PRINI LO. With the exception of an unexplained instance or an accidental omission or two, the day initials are not wanting except in the PRINNI entries and on the Ides of Rivios[i] (August).

But what was the significance of what I have briefly called the day initials? There appears to be no difficulty as to the words they stood for; as already indicated on pp 216, 339 above, D stands for day or the daylight portion of the twenty-four hours. Apparently it was not lucky, for when that was the case we meet with MD, sometimes DM, and in one or two instances we have DS standing for the same word as D, namely *dies* 'day'. When DS occurs we have it followed by MA for *matus* 'good' as in the second intercalation, line 25: that was also probably the case with the fourteenth and fifteenth of Rivros[iv]. So much for the daylight portion of the day. the night is usually represented by N or NS which stood for *nots* 'night'; the beginning of the spelling of that word occurs as NO in the second intercalation, line 18. In NS DS 'day, night', we have the night first as was to be expected from Caesar's statement (vi. 18) that the Celts reckoned nights and winters first, but when the day is marked lucky it comes before the night, as in the instance in line 25 of the second intercalation which reads, DS MA· NS RIVR 'day good, night of Rivros', for Rivros was a lucky month, and N or NS is never marked lucky or unlucky. To be told, however, that this is day, whether lucky or not, and this other is night, does not help us much. we want to know what underlies those day initials It seems certain that something used to happen during the daylight which had D or MD referring to it, and the same thing happened also sometimes at night. Then the formula NS DS 'night, day' would have a signification instead of seeming to usurp the place of *latio-n*, 'the day of twenty-four hours,' as we should call it (the plural of the word *lation* occurs in the note prefixed to the second intercalation, abbreviated LAT, in line 4). In that case the meaning would be that something which went on during the daylight went on also in the night of that same day, that is, it happened twice in the twenty-four hours. therefore we find it marked NS DS.

What was it then that took place once or twice almost every day? To answer this is hard as the possibilities are probably not very few. only two occur to me, a daily sacrifice or a school. Whichever it was it used to be relinquished on days when the 41 PRINNI or payments took place. Apply this to the case of daily sacrifice and one fails to see why the latter could not have taken place so early in

the morning or so late at night as not to clash with the presence of the persons appointed to receive the payments. In the case of a school the same objection does not hold. Then, however, comes the question, what evidence in favour of a school can be found. We need go no further in a general way than Caesar's statement to which reference has already been made (vi. 13). His words on this point are the following:—'ad eos [druidas] magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore.' In the next chapter (vi. 14) he makes the further statement:—'tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur, itaque annos non nulli XX in disciplina permanent.' At the end of the same chapter we have a word as to the subjects of the Druids' teaching:—'multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt.' The stars were a favourite study of theirs, and whether their interest was in astrology rather than astronomy does not matter in this case: it explains why the school might sometimes be held at night.

It is remarkable that the same state of things appears to have existed in Ireland. Irish story dates a little later than Julius Caesar the famous king of Ulster Conor mac Nessa: it represents him dying on the Day of the Crucifixion under extraordinary circumstances and after reigning forty years. Now his chief druid, named Cathbad, had a school of 100 pupils, and we know what some of his select pupils who studied Druidism were taught, for one day one of those pupils asked Cathbad for what that day was lucky. He answered that a youth who took up arms and mounted his chariot that day would be famous all over Ireland but would not be long-lived. The boy Cúchulainn chanced to be told of this in the afternoon and he hurried away to don the king's own armour and to mount the king's own chariot. The story goes on to relate what marvels of valour Cúchulainn then performed. See O'Curry's *Lectures*, pp. 275–7; the Book of the Dun Cow, fo. 61ᵃ, and Windisch's *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, pp. 130, 131.

One acquires the impression that the days when there was no school, if school it was, were busy ones at the Temple. The fourth day of Rivios[1] was not such, as the firstfruits were probably not presented in large quantities by any of the donors and such quantities as they consisted of did not go to the Temple, but to the hill or hill hut, that is to say in Irish, *Cró Logo*. It was apparently very

different on the thirteenth of that month of Rivros[1] no school goes on then. The crops are presented at the Temple before Rivos leaves it that evening, and apparently they are presented in considerable quantities. In each of the other four years there were only brought harvest presents that were apparently given to the priest, at a banquet probably in his honour.

What search has been made for the site of the Temple I do not happen to know. The fragments of the God and the Calendar were found in a hole in the ground. The man who broke up the bronze and hid the pieces in the earth cannot be supposed to have carried them from any very great distance. The site of the Temple with its storehouses and other adjuncts may have covered a considerable plot of ground. The Temple contained at least one statue of classic make and an elaborate Calendar in Roman letters, cut perhaps by a Roman engraver. So it is possible that the Temple itself was a stone structure made after the Roman fashion, if not actually built by Roman masons. All this, though mere conjecture, suggests the desirability of a careful search being made for the site in the neighbourhood of Coligny. If a likely site is discovered, it is needless to say that it should be excavated and thoroughly examined.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

THERE is a more direct and correct way of interpreting the word DIVERTOMV than that which I gave in my first paper, pp. 10–12, namely, to treat it as a verb in the imperative mood first person plural, meaning 'let us turn away or aside', that is from the unluckiness of a month of twenty-nine days; or perhaps better 'let us turn it away or aside'. For this we have the analogy of the Latin *devertere*, which was sometimes applied to the turning of impending fates from their course. Witness Lucan, *De Bello Civili*, vi. 590, 591 —

> 'O decus Haemonidum, populis quae pandere fata
> 'Quaeque suo ventura potes devertere cursu,
> 'Te precor . . . .

The Celtic verb is spelt in no less than four different ways in the Calendar: it occurs first as DIVERTIOMV, but the more usual is DIVERTOMV;[1] the others are DIVORTOMV and DIVIRTOMV which is a by-form of DIVERTOMV. The Latin verb is also *deverto* and *devorto*, the simple forms being *verto* and *vorto*. In the Neoceltic languages certain prepositions may assume personal endings in imitation, to a certain extent, of the verbs. The Calendar supplies an unmistakable instance recalling DIVERTIOMV, namely OCIOMV 'with us', which occurs in Medieval Irish as *ocain-ni*, in Modern Irish *againn* 'with us'. in Welsh the preposition is *ac*, *ag*, but it is not one of those which assume personal terminations

[1] Among other Celtic words related to the verb *divertomu* we have the Welsh *gwerthyd*, f 'a spindle', Irish *fearsaid* (properly the acc), genitive *fearsaide*, f According to Dinneen the nominative in the modern language is sometimes *fearsad*, which implies an older spelling *fersat* of which *fertas* seems to be a form This last occurs, for instance, in the Book of the Dun, fo 61b, 63b, 64a, in reference to the axles of war-chariots. Stokes, however, while connecting (p. 273) *fersaid* with *vert* 'to turn' and with *gwerthyd*, but without giving a reference to *fertas*, explains *fersaid* as standing for *verssati-* derived from *verttati-* I do not understand the *tt*, but the single *t* should yield in Mod Irish either *th* or *dh*, which is not the case; the actual word is said to be *fearsad* or *fearsaid*, ending with *d*, and not *dh*. The final *d* for an older *t* is an argument in favour of the priority of a form *fertas*, the *t* of which made final would retain its explosive character and not become *th* or *dh*. The base which would account at once for both *gwerthyd* and *fertas* would be *vertatịa*. Other instances of the reduction of *tị* into *s* in Irish seem to occur in *triss*, *tress* 'third' from *tṛtịo-s*, Welsh *trydydd* 'third' from *trtịjo-s*, and in *airchissi* '*parcit*', *airchissecht* '*clementia*', Welsh *arbed* 'to spare, to treat with clemency'. See Zeuss, *Gr. Celtica* ii, p 49b, and Vendryes' *Gr. du Vieil-Irlandais*, pp 133, 260.

P 216. According to the conjecture outlined on pages 268–70 above, the solitary letter N on the last day of Edrinios (April) in the years of the lustrum (except the first) should mean that the druid held his school that night, the reason probably being that he wished his pupils to observe the heavens on the last night of the year. This would imply that Edrinios had been the last month of the year and that the druid's practice continued the same after the *Rix* had made the year end with Cantlos. On the other hand, to the evidence supplied by the entry TIOCOBREXTIO for Cantlos as once the first month, I may now add that of D CANTLI on the seventh, eighth, and ninth days of that month see pp. 259, 263. Allowing for the avoiding in the Coligny Calendar of the first days of most months, the hymns or incantations on those three days correspond in date as near as may be to the Goidelic Beltene (First of May), and suggest the steps then taken to expel diseases; in other words, to drive the witches away (see pages 261–3 above).

P. 218. The longest spelling we have of *Giamonios* in the Calendar is *Giamoni*, and for its adjectival nature one may turn to the 'Reconstruction', Samonios[1] At. viiii, note. The word has been found in a Latin inscription as *Giamonius*, a man's name indicating that the bearer of it was born in the month of Giamonios or December, or perhaps merely that he was born in winter. The stone was found at Eisenberg, near Hochstadt, and is now in the museum at Spires (see the Berlin *Corpus Inscr. Latinarum*, xiii 6145)

P. 220. With regard to the isolated entry GO RIVRI at the beginning of Anagantios[v], the fact that it does not occur till the fifth year probably means that it represents an obligation which accrued during the lustrum This readily fits in with the conjecture of a school, as suggested on pp. 269, 270. That is, the pupils paid at the beginning of Anagantios[v] for the whole period of five years the date of the payment implies, as does also the word RIVRI in the entry itself, that they paid in kind. The single curriculum does not seem to have run beyond the limits of the lustrum indeed, if the pupils did not attend after the date inferred to be that of their paying at the beginning of Anagantios[v] (September), their full time would fall 9 months short of the period of five years. More probably they would continue to attend till after the last night of Edrinios (April). This would help one to understand why the entry at the end of Edrinios in the first year is not the solitary N which one finds in the four other years: I take it that by the end of the Edrinios of the first year the pupils had not been taught to study the heavens, or at

any rate not to a sufficient extent to render them capable of benefiting by a meeting to survey the stars on what was probably considered to be still one of the most important nights of the year. There is another conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing interpretation of the entry GO RIVRI, namely that he who received the gifts on the 4th of August was the head of the school, though he seems to have been simply called *Gutuatros*, or priest. Possibly there was a strong reason for not applying to him or the other official who figures in the Calendar, the *Rix Tiocobrextios*, any such term as that of druid. The druids were officially suppressed under the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, but what that suppression exactly meant is a question of some difficulty See the late M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's note in the *Revue Celtique*, XII. 316–17, entitled 'Comment le druidisme a disparu', also XXVI 359, 'Les druides, notions générales', by the same savant

P. 231. Fland Cinuch was presumably the same man whom O'Curry, in his *Lectures*, p. 402, calls Flann Ciothach the author is discussing certain Irish prophecies ascribed to St. Columba and others. He expresses himself as follows 'This fleet was to consist of one thousand ships of all kinds. These would capture the cattle and women of Erinn; and in the excess of their pride and confidence they would move on Tara, where they would be overtaken by the king, Flann Ciothach' To this last word is added—[*recte*, 'Ginach', or the voracious]: it comes probably from the editor, who in the Index, however, has called him only *Flann Cethach* The *Book of Fenagh* (Dublin, 1875), p. 62, calls Fland Cithach the last high king of Ireland—*Aid ri degenach Erinn*, on which the editor, the late Irish scholar W. M. Hennessy, has the following note '*Flann Cithach* "Flann the Showery." Called also, in other accounts, "Flann Ginach," or "Flann the Voracious." This character plays a conspicuous part in old Irish prophecies, in several of which he is described as the last king of Ireland, in whose reign Antichrist will appear He is mentioned in the *Baile Moling*, or Rhapsody of (St.) Moling, a copy of which is contained in the Yellow Book of Lecan (a fifteenth-century MS. in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin), col. 340.' The events with which the name of this Fland is found associated seem to belong to the period of the Scandinavian invasions of Ireland.

P. 240. Among the arguments against the theory that the Gélignieux testator used the same Calendar as that of Coligny, I ought to have mentioned the fact, that, in the latter, one of the months of thirty days was, in spite of that number, unlucky; to wit,

the month called Equos. If *omnibus Tricontis* practically meant 'in all the lucky months', a man who was thinking of the Coligny Calendar would have had to express his meaning a little differently: *Tricontis* would not have quite answered his purpose But see below, p. 282.

Pp. 246, 247. The view here expressed concerning the name of the month of Equos as related to the Latin word Equiria is corroborated by the Highland Gaelic word *gearran* 'a gelding', which according to McAlpine has also a temporal meaning, namely, the 'time from 15th March to April 11th, inclusive'. The latest authority on Highland vocabulary, MacDonald's *Faclair Gaidhlig*, defines the time variously. (1) The same as McAlpine. (2) The nine days after *faoileach*,[1] which ends in Lewis on the Tuesday nearest the end of the third week of February. (3) Last half of February, but Dr. Norman McLeod in his *Teachdaire Ùr Gàidhealach* has applied *gearran* to the month of February. Lastly the Irish *gearran* 'a workhorse, a hack', is given by O'Reilly as also meaning 'the last week in February'. This would cover the time of the earlier date of the Roman Equiria, but if all these definitions of the time are to be duly taken into account, they seem on the whole to point to an ancient reckoning with a Horse month which took in the dates of the Roman races of both February 27 and March 14, and differed from the Equos of the Coligny Calendar The whole question, however, of Gearran requires to be carefully investigated by somebody conversant with the archæology of the Gaelic reckoning of time.

P. 257. It is consistent with the treatment of the Ivos as a banquet, a tribal reunion or a clan gathering, to regard its central feature as

[1] *Faoilleach* is also written *faoilteach*, which is probably the more corrupt spelling of the two Dinneen translates *faoilleach* as 'a remnant', and refers the reader to *fuighleach* (plural *fuighligh*) 'a remnant, refuse, balance, leavings' He gives the simpler form as *fuigheall* (plural *fuighill* and *fuighle*) 'a remnant, remainder, leavings, residue, balance'. He adds that the days in January are called *fuighle* (*fuidhle*), that is 'the dregs or remnants of the year', for which he cites the authority of Peter O'Connell's MS dictionary Dinneen also gives *faoilidh* as 'the old name of the Kalends of February and of 15 days after; often it is used,' he says, 'for the entire month,' and 'it also means bad weather'. He refers again to Peter O'Connell, namely, as maintaining that the word was a corruption of *fuidhle* The latter was doubtless right as to the *dh*, seeing that we have the kindred word in the Welsh *gweddill* 'remainder, what is left, the rest'. Witness also *fuidleoh* in Stokes's edition of *Saltair na Rann*, line 7628, where the dative plural occurs in the words *dáchliab déc diafuidlechaib* 'two baskets of its leavings', that is, of the remains of the two fishes and five loaves in the miracle in the Gospel narrative.

consisting of a sacrifice, and to cite what Caesar says, as to the power and authority of the druids, that the most dreaded expression of their displeasure was their prohibiting an individual or a community from taking part in the sacrifices. The passage runs as follows, vi. 13 —

'Si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque iis petentibus ius redditur neque honos communicatur.'

P. 259. It will have been noticed that any ordinary month has the name of one or more of the neighbouring months inserted here and there in it, and it is hard to decide what that fact means. I have been mostly content in such cases to treat the names, dispersed in that manner, as those of days lent, so to say, by one month to its neighbours, that is, in other words to treat them as weather forecasts. see 'Celtae and Galli', pp. 8, 29. But there is Thurneysen's hypothesis, which I am now inclined to accept as offering fewer and lesser difficulties. It is to the effect that the names are those of the genius or tutelary divinity of each month. Take for instance the month of Dumannios, on the first day of which the entry includes SAMON: this would mean that the genius of the month of Samonios which ended the day before, required to be propitiated on the first day of the ensuing month. Or take Cutios (November), when the genius of the coming month of Giamonios (December) has attention called to him on the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth of Cutios[1], not to mention that the same attention was repeated on the seventh and eighth days of the Atenoux. Nor is that all, for the first, the second, and the third of the same Atenoux. have associated with them the genius of the previous month of Ogronios (October). All the ordinary months, except Equos, were discovered by Commandant Espérandieu to be inserted in their order in the second intercalation.[1] Usually an ordinary month commemorates the genius of the preceding month or that of the coming one, but not always both. Thus Samonios[1] recalls the coming month Dumannios no less than seven times while making no reference to Cantlos the previous one. In this case the omission may be due to the fact that the Cantlos in question belonged not only to another year but to another

[1] Line 33 of this month consists of QVTIO, which is very probably an error of the engraver's for EQVO.

lustrum On the other hand Dumannios[ii] recalls Samonios four times but does not refer to the coming month of Rivros. Certain months seem to go in pairs, such as Rivros and Anagantios, Ogronios and Cutios So with the latter pair where Ogronios is the current month, as on Atenoux. viii of the fourth year, not to mention At. ii of the second intercalation, where we read QVTI IN OGRO, which seems to provide a difficulty for this hypothesis compare 'Celtae and Galli', pp. 28, 29 Beyond the commemoration in an ordinary month of its immediate neighbours I have not discovered any rule governing the interlinking.

How the commemoration was carried out is hard to tell, unless it was by an offering of food to the month Genius to be propitiated. If so, this might be the explanation of the *petiuxtion* mentioned three or four times in the month of Rivros and once in the second intercalation see the note on At. x of Rivros[ii] in the Reconstruction, p. 298. Thus in Rivros[ii] PETIVX ANAG may mean the portion of food offered to the Genius of the month Anagantios. Later in the same year comes PETIVX RIVRI, but in years 3 and 5 their portions are presented to them on the same day, which makes room in Atenoux. x of at least year 3 for two portions of food to the Genius of the month Rivros I have treated the entry as N RIVRI D RIVRI III M, which means literally interpreted 'Night of Rivros, Day of Rivros, from 10 o'clock to 12 lucky' In other words Rivros in his own month is propitiated twice in the twenty-four hours, once in the night, and once in the daytime. This kind of entry stands alone in the Calendar, and it goes to show what importance was attached to the keeping of the Genius of that Harvest month in good humour It was Rivros also that was propitiated on the night of the 15th of the second intercalation, which was probably a great full-moon festival: see pages 268, and 283, 285.

Next I may remark that there is no occasion to place the two hypotheses in opposition to one another In all probability the notion of one month lending days to its neighbours was only the popular form of the Genius hypothesis, which to us with our modern ways of thinking seems cumbrous and complicate. The entry QVTI IN OGRO, to which attention has already been called, would seem to show that the two ways of looking at the scattered names coexisted in the time of the Calendar, and that at least once the framer of the Calendar had recourse to popular parlance on account of its convenient brevity.

This may be illustrated—perhaps more than merely illustrated—

from a modern source my attention was called some time ago by my friend Dr. W. A. Craigie to the Borrowed Days of Scottish folklore he referred me to the first volume of that charming compilation R. Chambers's *Book of Days*, p. 448, where one reads as follows .—

'The Borrowed Days are the three last of March. The popular notion is that they were borrowed by March from April, with a view to the destruction of a parcel of unoffending young sheep—a purpose, however, in which March was not successful. The whole affair is conveyed in a rhyme thus given at the firesides of the Scottish peasantry .—

March said to Aperill,
I see three hoggs upon a hill,
And if you'll lend me dayes three,
I'll find a way to make them dee.
The first o' them was wind and weet,
The second o' them was snow and sleet,
The third o' them was sic a freeze,
It froze the birds' nebs to the trees.
When the three days were past and gane,
The three silly hoggs came hirpling hame.'

After explaining, for the Southron's benefit, that a *hogg* is 'a sheep in its second year', the Editor quotes Sir Thomas Browne who, in his *Vulgar Errors*, makes the statement, that 'It is usual to ascribe unto March certain *Borrowed Daies from April*'. He next remarks that a reference to the Borrowed Days occurs long before Browne's time, namely, in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, printed in 1548,[1] from which he quotes as follows —'There eftir i entrit in ane grene forest, to contempil the tendir ȝoung frutes of grene treis, be caus the borial blastis of the *thre borouing dais of marche* hed chaissit fragrant flureise of euyrie frute tree far athourt the feildis.' This is not all, for he goes on to mention 'an ancient calendar of the Church of Rome often quoted by Brand' in his *Popular Antiquities*[2] (edit 1854, II. 41). There, we are told, allusion is made to 'the rustic fable concerning the nature of the month [March]' and to 'the rustic names of six days which shall follow in *April, or may be last in March*'. The Editor then speculates on the origin of this folklore and thinks that it is to be sought in the many wintry relapses which characterize our British spring, especially about the close of the month of March. This idea, he thought, was supported by a High-

[1] This is corrected according to Sir James Murray's edition in the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, No. XVII, 1872, see pp 37, 38.

[2] The edition accessible to me of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* is that of Ellis in Bohn's 'Antiquarian Library' (London, 1849), II 41-4, where the verses quoted above from the *Book of Days* are given somewhat differently.

land superstition of the same kind, as to which he quotes, from Mrs. Grant's *Superstitions of the Highlanders*, ii. 217, the following passage concerning the *faoilteach* (already mentioned on p. 274, above) —

'The *Faoilteach*, or three first days of February, serve many poetical purposes in the highlands. They are said to have been borrowed for some purpose by February from January, who was bribed by February with three young sheep. These three days, by highland reckoning, occur between the 11th and 15th of February. and it is accounted a most favourable prognostic for the ensuing year, that they should be as stormy as possible If these three days should be fair, then there is no more good weather to be expected through the spring Hence the *Faoilteach* is used to signify the very ultimatum of bad weather '[1]

Taking the Celtic instances alone and reckoning among them, as we probably may, the Scottish folklore, we find that they refer to two sets of Borrowed Days (1) There are those 3 borrowed by March from April in order to kill the 3 sheep, and that they are not killed in the verses quoted by Chambers is doubtless due to a comparatively late turn given to the incident. In fact there was another tradition, for Brand quotes, loc. cit., two lines from *Poor Robin's Almanack* for 1731, to the following effect —

> 'March borrowed of *April* three days and they were ill,
> They kill'd three lambs were playing on a hill'

Moreover the Irish equivalent was the *bó ríabhach* or dark-coloured cow, that the borrowed April days did not fail to kill, a piece of folklore which appears to be common to the whole of Ireland to-day see my first paper, p. 9. It is to be noticed that in Scotland the victims are 3, whether hoggs or lambs, and that when one turns to the Coligny Calendar one finds 3 Edrinios (April) days borrowed in Elembivios (March) to make the 7th, 8th, and 9th of the Atenouxtion of Year i, but the first, second, and third of the Atenoux. of Years ii and v the corresponding parts of the other years are missing I said 'borrowed', but that does not fit so well as the idea of the genius or dæmon of Edinios being thrice propitiated in the course of Elembivios's month. In the cases here in question the idea of borrowing made felt the desirability of the borrowing being done consecutively, so the first days of April are added to the end of

[1] The edition dates 'London, 1811', and the passage comes as part of a note on the following couplet in a poem on a Macgregor .—

> 'Let winter be to thee as autumn,
> And the three first bleak days of spring as summer.'

March. The Calendar is subject to no such restriction, and the 'borrowed' days occupy different places in it even in the years of one and the same lustrum: in neither of them are they at the beginning or the end.

(2) Mrs. Grant represents the Highlanders of Scotland as treating the last three days of January as being added to February at the beginning of the latter, but she finds it necessary as it were to correct this by stating that the Highlanders reckoned those days to occur between the 11th and the 15th of February. Now it is remarkable that in the Calendar February has the days 13, 14, 15 'borrowed' from January closing the first fortnight of the month. They are followed by three more January days forming the beginning of the latter fortnight of it. In fact, there are no fewer than 9 January days in February. Taking all the fragments of the Calendar into account, the days 'borrowed' from January are no fewer than 33. Still, January is no shorter, which shows that the term 'borrowing' does not really apply, or else that the word does not represent what it is understood to mean. The next in point of the number of the days 'borrowed' from it, is February, where they are 30 or perhaps 31: see footnote, p. 275. More accurately speaking, these figures mean the minimum number of times the Genii of those months had to be propitiated, and they may be regarded as the exponents of the power for harm ascribed to the two respectively. Their cruel excess over all the other months in this regard indicates also a reason for the notice taken of them still in the folklore of Scotland and Ireland. The Calendar is too defective to enable us to argue in the same way as to March and April, though it leaves us free to regard the propitiations in these two cases as being almost as numerous as in the two previous ones.

Lastly, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the cow and the sheep or lambs mentioned in these pieces of folklore point back to the victims which it had once been the custom to sacrifice to the Genii of the months. In spite of the notion of borrowing days, the older idea of propitiation forces itself to the surface in the allusion to January being bribed with three lambs. We have here evidence to add to what has been suggested at p. 255 above, proving the former existence of a Goidelic Calendar constructed in the same way as that of the Celts of Coligny.

Pp. 264-6 When treating the PRINI transactions as payments of tributes and taxes, I had a notion that they might be state payments received at or near the Temple by officials appointed for that

purpose by the Roman government. This I regard now as improbable. In other words I take them to refer to what may be treated as the ordinary income of the Temple. We have no clue to the sources of that income, but it may be said to have been supplemented, to a lesser or greater extent, by the offerings or payments in kind on the 13th day of Rivros, more especially the Rivros of the first year in the lustrum.

Notes by Specialists.

Since my paper was written and the Reconstructed Calendar edited as in the Appendix I have been able to consult specialists in astronomy and time reckoning I proceed now to give their answers to such questions as I was able to submit to them. Sir Norman Lockyer was kind enough to give me an introduction to Mr. Cowell, Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac Office, late Chief Assistant to the Astronomer Royal at the Observatory, Greenwich, and now Doctor of Science of the University of Oxford *honoris causa*. With regard to the Coligny Calendar as a whole he has given me his opinion in these words —

'The Calendar is evidently a lunar one ; and the first day 'new moon' and the 15th day 'full moon'; but there are two possibilities as to what is meant by 'new moon', either (1) the day when the young moon is first seen, or (2) when the moon is nearest to the sun.'

Then in answer to my question as to what I took to be the Solstice on Atenoux. ii of Samonios—let us call it June 17th—in the first and second years of the lustrum, he expresses himself thus .—

'Two consecutive summer solstices must be 365 or 366 days apart. They cannot both fall on the 17th day of a lunar month. Could they [of the Coligny Calendar] have used a "Calendar Solstice" arranged to fall on the 17th day of this month as near as possible to the true Solstice ?'

This by no means represents the whole of my obligation to Mr. Cowell, for he was good enough to recommend me to consult Dr. Fotheringham of Magdalen College, Oxford, and King's College, London, as not only a good astronomer but also an expert in the study of Calendars. Accordingly I wrote to Dr. Fotheringham at King's College, and sent him the proof-sheets of my paper and of the Reconstruction of the Calendar. He replied in a letter which proved that he had perused the whole most carefully. Some of his suggestions have been used to deliver me from certain serious blunders which I should otherwise have made, and most of the others are here reproduced in their order :—

'Unfortunately, I am totally ignorant of things Celtic and can only approach the Calendar from the point of view of technical chronology. Some of my suggestions must in consequence be made very tentatively. It appears to me that the first thing to do is to determine the character of the Calendar. That it is either a lunar calendar or one which at an earlier date was lunar is proved by the alternation of months of 29 and 30 days, by the division of the month into two halves corresponding to the waxing and waning of the moon, and by the insertion of intercalary months. The chief difficulty in the way of regarding the Calendar as actually lunar is that, as reconstructed, it contains 62 months, including 1,835 days, whereas 62 lunar months ought to contain only 1,830·9 days. There is thus an error of 4·1 days in 5 years. If this were allowed to accumulate, we should after the lapse of 18 years have the months beginning at the full moon instead of the new and so on. I therefore inferred, when I first read of the discovery of the Calendar, that it must *either* be a quondam lunar calendar which had been allowed to become independent of the Moon, like the Calendar of the Roman Republic, *or* some crude and ignorant attempt at a lunar calendar, of a type that would have to be revised after the lapse of a very few years. Now that I have seen your edition of the text, another explanation of the Calendar has occurred to me.

So far as we are able to decipher the duration of the individual months of this Calendar, each month would appear to have a fixed length, but the Calendar only runs for five years, and is broken in places. Therefore it is possible that one of the months had a variable length. It would not meet the purpose to suppose that the intercalary month varied, for, supposing that, as in the Metonic cycle, there are seven intercalations in 19 years, then 19 years of 354 days + 7 intercalary months of 30 days only = 6,936 days, whereas 235 lunar months = 6,939·7 days, and on the other hand 19 years of 355 days + 7 intercalary months of 29 days = 6,948 days. It is clear therefore that, whatever is done with the intercalary months, the length of the remaining twelve must be made to vary between 354 days and 355 days, and therefore at least one of the ordinary months must have a variable length. Now, in the Calendar before us the two intercalary months have each a duration of 30 days; assuming that this is the normal duration of an intercalary month, we have as above 235 lunar months = 6,939·7 days = 19 years of 354 days + 7 intercalary months of 30 days + 3·7 days. In other words, one of the 12 months should in 3·7 out of 19 years have a 30th day, but in other years only 29 days. This would be met by assigning to such a month 30 days in every fifth year, and 29 days in the other four years. Now, is there any month in the Calendar as presented to us which can be supposed to vary in this way?

The Calendar seems to give us 7 months of 30 days and 5 of 29.

We must therefore look for the month of variable duration among the 7 of 30 days, and preferably among those months of 30 days which have a neighbouring month also of 30 days, as it is not likely that there would ever be three consecutive months of 29 days. This gives us a choice between Ogronios, Cutios, Simivisonnios, and Equos. Ogronios has the full length in three successive years, and therefore will not do; Cutios has the full length in years 1, 3, 5, rather too often for our purpose, Simivisonnios has the full length in years 1, 2, 4, again rather frequently. Equos, however, can only be proved to have the full length in years 1 and 5, and, as you have remarked, alone of all the 30-day months it is regarded as unlucky. I think it is therefore very possible that Equos varied between 29 and 30 days, having usually 29 days and being therefore regarded as unlucky. The appearance of the 30th day both in the year 1 and in the year 5 suggests a further reflection. Supposing that this month is given an extra day once every 4 years instead of once every 5, and that the intercalary month is given 29 days instead of 30 once every 19 years, we get, as in the Calippic cycle, an average length of 6,939·75 days for 235 lunar months, exactly corresponding to 19 Julian years. Now the Julian Calendar inserts an additional day once every fourth year in February. If then the additional day of the lunar calendar is also inserted in each Roman leap-year in February, and the intercalary months recur at fixed intervals, with the durations that I have suggested, each date of the lunar calendar will return to exactly the same place in the Julian Calendar after the lapse of nineteen years, a very important consideration in any country where both calendars are in use. The rule thus obtained is in fact that which was adopted by the Alexandrian astronomers of the third century A.D. for the calculation of Easter, and is still used for that purpose both in the Eastern and in the Western Church. It is very significant that Equos, the *only* month where such a variation in length appears possible, is the one which most nearly coincides with the Roman February. The fact that Equos has 30 days both in year 1 and in year 5 may then be explained on the supposition that the Calendar begins in the year before leap-year.

I do not know whether you consider this reasoning too precarious, but I do not see how you can otherwise save the Calendar from a serious conflict with the elements of lunar theory, as already well known at the date to which it belongs. And on the question whether the Calendar is truly lunar or not depends the answer to some of your other questions.

Turning now to the points on which you ask my opinion, (1) the 14th or 15th day of the lunar month was always regarded as the date of full moon wherever lunar calendars obtained, and I have little doubt that this was so with the Celts of Coligny. The reason is as follows:—The earliest calendars reckoned the month from the first appearance of the moon, which is on an average at the first sunset which happens not less

than thirty hours after new moon, so that the mean age of the moon when first seen is

$$30 \text{ hours} + \frac{24}{2} \text{ hours} = 42 \text{ hours} = 1 \text{ day } 18 \text{ hours.}$$

The mean age of the moon when full is

$$\frac{29 \text{ days } 13 \text{ hours}}{2} = 14 \text{ days } 18 \text{ hours}$$

Therefore the mean interval between the first appearance of the moon and the full of the moon is 13 days 0 hour In other words the moon becomes full on an average at the end of the thirteenth day and the beginning of the fourteenth night. Hence, where the days are reckoned from sunset, we should expect the fourteenth day of the month to be regarded as the day of the full moon. And it is in fact one of the days most commonly so regarded. The fifteenth is a date obtained more simply Fifteen is half thirty and, as the middle of the month, should be the date of full moon. In calendars based on calculations the month is frequently reckoned from the actual new moon, and in these the fifteenth is more correct than the fourteenth for the mean date of full moon All over the world great festivals have been celebrated at the full moon, cf. Passover and Tabernacles among the Israelites, Carneia at Sparta, and I know that in a country district of Westmoreland with which I am well acquainted, concerts, tea meetings, evangelistic services, &c., are always arranged for the full moon for the sake of evening light. Hence I can well understand that the feast of ingathering would be held at the August full moon, and some other feast at the 15th of the second intercalation

I do not imagine that the priests could compute the exact date of full moon They assumed that it would be on the 14th (15th ?) of the month, and they knew that they would be within a day or two of the truth. If my suggestion as to the interpretation of the Calendar is correct, then full moon dates would be equally correct with our ecclesiastical full moon on which the date of Easter depends. Our tables adopt as the date of the full moon the 14th day of the lunar month, calculated by a rule which appears to be identical with that used at Coligny

(2) For "trinoctium" compare Columella, xi. ii. 49, "viii et vii et vi Kal s s [i e supra scriptas, *viz.* Iul] solstitium." Here the solstice is dated June 24–26. In ii iv 4, however, Columella has "solstitium quod est ix uel viii Kal. Iul", equivalent to a date June 23–24. Caesar's calendar appears to have dated the entrance of the Sun into Cancer on June 19 and the solstice on June 24, whence our Midsummer Day The discrepancy is curious, as the entrance of the Sun into Cancer ought to be identical with the solstice. We are not concerned here with the astronomical date of the solstice at the time of the Calendar of Coligny

—Caesar's calendar had superseded observation—much less with the astronomical date of the solstice at the present time, viz. June 22. If the date stood against the first year alone, I might conjecture that in that year Samonios 17 was June 24. As it is, I prefer to suppose that it is a midsummer feast celebrated at a fixed date of the lunar calendar, but intended to be in the neighbourhood of the solstice. Compare the Jewish Passover and Christian Easter, which are regulated by the lunar calendar, but retained in the neighbourhood of the vernal equinox. Is it possible that the reason why it does not appear in years 4 and 5 is because the space is taken up by PRINI or PRINO? Day 17 appears to end the full moon season. The Ambacti who have been free from temple service during the season of the full moon return to their duties on the 18th.

(3) Is the sending in of crops on August 13 preparatory to a great feast on August 14, 15?

(4) The interval between Sam 17 and Rivros 13 is, as you point out, 55 days, not 53 But in all lunar calendars the normal length of two successive months would be 59 days, and it is therefore improbable that the interval would have different values in Gaul and Ireland. On the other hand, I doubt whether the feasts would be on exactly the same day of the lunar month everywhere Sam. 17 looks like the close of the full moon season, Rivros 13 the beginning of it, but it may not everywhere have been reputed to begin on the 13th and end on the 17th.

(5) The symbols †||, |†|, ||† may, as Mr Nicholson suggests, refer to something similar to the Roman *dies intercisi*. These days were *nefasti* in the early morning and evening, and *fasti* in the middle of the day. Similarly the symbols in question, which are always followed by the letters indicating lucky or unlucky, may refer to a threefold division of the day. In this case, the position of † will indicate whether it is the first, the second, or the third portion of the day that has a different character from the rest, but I see nothing to indicate whether the letters following the symbol express the character of the third indicated by † or of the other two thirds. It is also possible, as you suggest, that † means noon, ||† the two hours ending with noon, |†| the interval from one hour before noon till one hour after noon, and †|| the two hours beginning with noon.'

All these notes have been of great use to me. Among others the suggestion conveyed in note 3 is incorporated on p. 289 below; and as to note 5, it may be mentioned that the daytime was sometimes divided into three parts in ancient Erin. This is recorded, for instance, in reference to Conor mac Nessa, the famous king of Ulster to whom attention was called on p 269 above. His day was divided into three parts as follows:—He devoted the first third to watching the youths

of Ulster at their games in the field, the second third was given to the playing of chess or some Celtic game resembling chess, and the last third to ale-drinking, which probably meant the evening meal with its accompaniments, and lasted till it was time to go to sleep See the story of the *Táin* in the Book of the Dun Cow, fo 59[a], and compare a passage about *Ólngúala* in the same MS, fo. 121[b], and another in the Book of Leinster, fo. 107[b].

The great willingness of Dr. Fotheringham to help me made me write to him again, among other things to elicit his opinion further as to the relation between the Coligny and the Julian Calendars, and to find what he might think of an idea of mine that Rivros[i] and Rivros[iv] supplied evidence, as it were, of two strata in the Coligny Calendar, one in which the date of the full moon was reckoned from the moon's first appearance, and the other in which it was calculated from the true date of the new moon. In a letter written with the same readiness as before, he expresses himself as follows —

'I have not access here either to Elton or to Diodorus, but if your allusion to the Boread festival (p. 221) fairly represents the original, I have no doubt that the reference is to a festival governed by the nineteen-years' cycle, and the nineteen-years' cycle is of course the cycle that governed intercalations, first propounded, so far as we know, by the Athenian astronomer Meton and afterwards adopted with modifications far and wide through the whole world. Now, if the Boreads are Celts, and if the Celts of Coligny may be assumed to have known the nineteen-years' cycle, it is almost certain that they had a month of variable length The least exact of the nineteen-years' cycles preserved to us is Meton's own cycle, where 19 years are made = 235 months = 6940 days The true length of 235 lunar months is 6939·69 days As I showed in my last letter, it is impossible to obtain a value approaching Meton's in exactness, unless one of the months is of variable length

Now Equos appears with 30 days both in the first year and in the fifth year of the Calendar, as it cannot have had 30 days more than twice in the five years without producing a serious error, we may, I think, assume that it had 29 days in years 2, 3, and 4. This gives Equos a thirtieth day once every four years. Since, then, the additional day recurs both at the same interval and at the same season in the Coligny as in the Julian Calendar, I suggest that the Coligny Calendar is like our Easter Calendar *a calendar accommodated to the Julian Calendar,* a calendar so arranged that a particular day of a particular year of the nineteen-years' cycle will always correspond with the same Julian day Now, if this is correct, the additional day must be inserted not merely at the same interval and same season, but in the same year in the Coligny

and Julian Calendars. But the additional day, as we have seen, appears in years 1 and 5 of the Coligny Calendar. Therefore February of the year 1 must have fallen in a Roman leap-year, and year 1 must have begun in the previous Summer, that is, in the Summer of the Roman year preceding leap-year Of course this is merely a suggestion , it is possible that both the interval and the season for this additional day may have been adopted independently by Celts and Romans.

I do not think the data before us are sufficient to prove the existence of two distinct strata in the Calendar. The mean time for full moon should be at sunset at the end of the 13th day counted from the first appearance of the moon This would make the following night, during which the moon would be shining, a part of the 14th day, reckoning the days from sunset But the great full moon festivals of the Jews, who notoriously reckoned in ancient times from the first appearance, are on the 15th day of the month I imagine that both dates were current very early A Mommsen, in his *Chronologie*, pp 99–102, quotes Greek references for each of the 14th, 15th, and 16th days as being popularly regarded as the day of the full moon, though the 14th seems to have been most commonly so regarded. I think it quite possible therefore that 13th, 14th, and 15th may all go back to the earlier practice, when the month was supposed to begin at the first appearance. If the first appearance is late, as it often is in September, the moon might be full on the night following the eleventh day As a general rule, the nearer the autumnal equinox, the later the first appearance of the moon and the shorter the interval between first appearance and full moon. I do not know whether a 13th-day festival would be held by day or on the night following the 13th day If the latter, it would exactly correspond with the mean time of full moon, reckoned from first appearance.

You will observe that the Roman Ides are, except in February, all at the same interval from the following Kalends In other words, in the Republican Calendar these were always, except in February, 16 days after the Ides. The differentiation in the dates of the Ides is, therefore, a consequence of the differentiation in the lengths of the months, which are made to consist of 29 and 31 days in order to avoid even numbers. I imagine that the early Romans regarded 16 days as the mean interval between full moon and the following appearance, which is equivalent to an interval of 13½ days from first appearance to the following full moon.

The evidence you quote suggests that the Celts reckoned their days from nightfall, but I do not know whether this means sunset or some time after sunset when it has grown a little darker.'

My reference (at p. 221 above) to Apollo visiting the Boreads every nineteenth year was, I must confess, rather of the nature of an idle parallel, but now the comparison between the Coligny Calendar and

the Julian one made by Dr. Fotheringham (pp 282, 285 above) gives it so much fresh interest that I have no hesitation in printing here the whole of the original passage from the Teubner edition of the 'Library of Diodorus' by Friedrich Vogel (Leipsic, 1888), book II, chapter xlvii —

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτους κεκλιμένα μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἠξιώσαμεν ἀναγραφῆς, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων μυθολογούμενα διελθεῖν. τῶν γὰρ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ἀναγεγραφότων Ἑκαταῖος καὶ τινες ἕτεροί φασιν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέρας τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν εἶναι νῆσον οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Σικελίας ταύτην ὑπάρχειν μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, κατοικεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Ὑπερβορέων ἀπὸ τοῦ πορρωτέρω κεῖσθαι τῆς βορείου πνοῆς οὖσαν δ' αὐτὴν εὔγειόν τε καὶ πάμφορον, ἔτι δ' εὐκρασίᾳ διαφέρουσαν, διττοὺς κατ' ἔτος ἐκφέρειν καρπούς. μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν Λητὼ γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶσθαι εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἱερεῖς τινας Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ τὸ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑμνεῖσθαι μετ' ᾠδῆς συνεχῶς καὶ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τέμενός τε Ἀπόλλωνος μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ναὸν ἀξιόλογον ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κεκοσμημένον, σφαιροειδῆ τῷ σχήματι καὶ πόλιν μὲν ὑπάρχειν ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου, τῶν δὲ κατοικούντων αὐτὴν τοὺς πλείστους εἶναι κιθαριστάς, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν τῷ ναῷ κιθαρίζοντας ὕμνους λέγειν τῷ θεῷ μετ' ᾠδῆς, ἀποσεμνύνοντας αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις. ἔχειν δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους ἰδίαν τινὰ διάλεκτον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἰκειότατα διακεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Δηλίους, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων παρειληφότας τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς μυθολογοῦσι παραβαλεῖν εἰς Ὑπερβορέους, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολυτελῆ καταλιπεῖν γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένα. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων Ἄβαριν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταντήσαντα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνασῶσαι τὴν πρὸς Δηλίους εὔνοιάν τε καὶ συγγένειαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου φαίνεσθαι παντελῶς ὀλίγον ἀπέχουσαν τῆς γῆς καί τινας ἐξοχὰς γεώδεις ἔχουσαν ἐν αὐτῇ φανεράς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν δι' ἐτῶν ἐννεακαίδεκα καταντᾶν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῶν ἄστρων ἀποκαταστάσεις ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγονται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἐννεακαιδεκαετῆ χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Μέτωνος[1] ἐνιαυτὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ταύτην τὸν θεὸν κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν συνεχῶς τὰς νύκτας ἀπὸ ἰσημερίας ἐαρινῆς ἕως Πλειάδος ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις εὐημερήμασι τερπόμενον βασιλεύειν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπάρχειν τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Βορεάδας, ἀπογόνους ὄντας Βορέου, καὶ κατὰ γένος ἀεὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς.[2]

[1] C Muller, in his edition of Diodorus (Paris, 1842), prints *μέγαν* instead of *Μέτωνος* So the Vatican MS. reads : the others have *Μέτωνος*

[2] I take the liberty of appending the following abridged rendering into English from Sir Norman Lockyer's *Stonehenge*, pp. 51, 52 —' We think that no one will consider it foreign to our subject to say a word respecting the Hyperboreans. Amongst the writers who have occupied themselves with the mytho-

According to ancient terminology the British Isles were no part of ἡ Κελτική the bigger island, no smaller than Sicily, was opposite or over against ἡ Κελτική. It was evidently Britain, so C. Muller translates—'contra Galliam in Oceano insulam esse non minorem Siciha' It is needless to say that the temple of Apollo is commonly regarded as Stonehenge, while the *Boreads* have been supposed to mean the *Bards* of the Celts. Neither guess seems impossible, but I wish to call attention rather to the god as represented himself harping and dancing in the sky during a long epiphany This reminded Mr. Elton (p. 89) 'of the folk-lore about the dancing of the Easter sun', and I now see in it another version of the action which the Moytura story, 129, describes as the *glám dicinn* (see p. 233 above). In the one case Apollo harps and dances in the sky, that is, he makes music and moves in the sky in the other, Lug chants a song while moving round his Tuatha Dé Danann, not in the sky, it is true, for both Lug and his aerial host had been brought to the ground by the followers of Euhemerus.

In regard to the dates given by Diodorus as to Apollo's long epiphany, Dr Fotheringham has most kindly favoured me with the following note —

'I have now computed the dates of the vernal equinox and heliacal rising of the Pleiades for Stonehenge for the *floruit* of Hecataeus, 332 B C, and I get March 25 for the vernal equinox, and June 1 for the heliacal rising of the Pleiades. In making this computation I have assumed that the heliacal rising of the Pleiades takes place on the first day on which their brightest star, Alcyone, attains an altitude of 3° above the horizon before the depression of the sun below the horizon has become less than 10°.

This assumption is the result of observations taken by Penrose on the Mediterranean. The atmospheric conditions at Stonehenge would, perhaps, be on the average less favourable than those under which Penrose observed, and this might involve a slight delay in the phenomenon. The dates given are, according to astronomical usage, referred to the

logy of the ancients, Hecatæus and some others tell us that opposite the land of the Celts there exists in the Ocean an island not smaller than Sicily, and which, situated under the constellation of The Bear, is inhabited by the Hyperboreans; so called because they live beyond the point from which the North wind blows . . . If one may believe the same mythology, Latona was born in this island, and for that reason the inhabitants honour Apollo more than any other deity A sacred enclosure is dedicated to him in the island, as well as a magnificent circular temple adorned with many rich offerings. The Hyperboreans are in general very friendly to the Greeks.'

Julian Calendar, applied retrospectively. The Gregorian dates would be March 20 and May 27 respectively. The days are reckoned from midnight, but the result would be the same if they were to be reckoned from the previous nightfall.

Observe that this epiphany only took place in a given year of the Metonic cycle. The vernal equinox in the given year would always fall on the same day of the lunar year, and, if the rising of the Pleiades means the first morning on which the Pleiades could have been seen in fine weather, this event would also fall on a fixed day of the lunar year. Note the interval, 68 days.

The return of the stars to their positions must refer to the Sun, the Moon, and the fixed stars, which do return to the same position in relation to each other at this interval.'

It is needless to say that Dr. Fotheringham has made a contribution of capital importance to the understanding of the Coligny Calendar in that he has established the probability of its being 'a calendar accommodated to the Julian Calendar'. In the next place his notes on the date of the full moon as calculated from her first appearance enable one to form a clear idea as to the relation of the 13th day of the month of Rivros to the two following days. Thus taking the day to end at sunset, I should say that Rivos remains in the Temple to receive the offerings made to him as a preparation for the full-moon festival. He is there as the Harvest God and the lieutenant of the chief God of the Temple; but at the sunset of the 13th day his lieutenancy comes to an end. The night then coming on reckons as the first part of the 14th day, which begins a full-moon festival distinguished by the resumption by the chief God of his supremacy in his own Temple, but the festival extends to the next day, the 15th. In the first year both the 14th and the 15th are marked as lucky days, and in the fourth year they are further emphasized as such. This conjecture is based in part on the Irish story about Nuada and about Rivos under the Irish name of Lug. See p. 255 above, and the Moytura story, 74, where one reads words to the following effect:—'This is the decision to which Nuada came, to change seats with the warrior. So Samildánach [that is Lug], went to the king's seat, and the king rose up before him till thirteen days had ended.'

The Reconstruction of the Coligny Calendar

Proposed in 1898
by M. le Commandant Espérandieu
after the Chart
by M. Dissard and M. Espérandieu

Edited by John Rhŷs, with later Corrections by M. Dissard, Professor Lechat, and the Editor; and printed after being carefully collated by Professor Lechat with the original Fragments in the Museum at Lyons

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Appendix to the Editor's Paper entitled
The Coligny Calendar,
read to the British Academy,
January 26, 1910

THE FIRST INTERCALARY MONTH
FIRST YEAR (COL. 1)

	D		. . .
Line 1	MIDX AMBAXTOS		ATENOVX
	MATV . .		I . . . .
	◦I MATD. .		II. . RIV
	GIA		III AMB RIVR
L. 5	◦II MAT D	L 30	IIII . . SAMONI
	SONNA . .		◦V D DVMANNI AMB RIVR
	•III MAT D		◦VI IIT MD RIVRI
	◦IIII		◦VII NSDS SAMONI ANAGAN
	V		INNIST R TIT ..
L 10	VI .	L 35	◦VIII NSDS AMBAXTO
	◦VII N		INNIS ROC . .
	TINAD		◦VIIII NSDS .
	NE .		EDRINI .
	VI		SV .
L 15	◦VIII . .	L 40	X
	MAT D .		XI
	◦VIIII MAT D		XII .
	EDVTIO .		XIII .
	MV.		XIIII .
L 20	◦X . .	L 45	XV . . .
	XI .		MID AMB RIXTIO
	XII . . .		COB . CARIEDIT
	XIII . .		OXT ANTIA
	XIIII		POGDEDORTONIN
L. 25	XV . .	L 50	QVIMON

Line 1 The letter following MID is partly gone and what remains looks like the left half of an X, which is the reading of M. Lechat and M Dissard after repeated scrutiny Doubtless the letter in question formed part of the spelling of the nominative of the word for month, otherwise given as MID or simply M we now know that the name of the first intercalary month was, wholly or in part, AMBAXTOS

Line 31 has been discovered by M Lechat to begin with ◦V · there is enough left of the lower portion of the V to establish its identity This helps to limit the complete lacuna, in the downward direction, to the first line of the Atenoux

Line 34 Close to INNIS he finds traces of a perpendicular stroke · I take the letter to have been T the word wanted is INNISTI or INNIST

Line 46. The two letters preceding RIX cannot have been ID I had noticed the mistake in the previous readings, and M. Lechat finds that the traces left indicate MB This proves to be of capital importance.

THE SECOND INTERCALARY MONTH THIRD YEAR (COL. 9)

Line 1 CIALLOSBVIS
SONNO CINGOS
ΛMMAN M M XIII
LAT CCCLXXXV
L 5 M AMB ANTARAN M
I MAT D SIMIVIS
DVMANNI IVOS
II MAT D DVMAN IVOS
III MAT D RIVRI IVO
L. 10 IIII PETIVRIVRIAN
V NS DS AMB ANT ANAG
INIS ROc
VI
. . .
L. 15 . . .
VII N . . .
VIII D
∘VIIII N O .
INIS ROC
L 20 ∘X N ELEMBI
∘XI D EDRINI AMB
∘XII IIT D CANTLI
∘XIII TII MD SAMONI
∘XIIII D DVMANNI
L 25 ∘XV DS MA NS RIVR

ATENOVX
∘I D ANAGAN
∘II TII MD QVTI IN OGRO
∘III D OGRONI QVT
L 30 ∘IIII D GIAMONI
∘V D SIMIS AMB
∘VI IIT D SIMIVISONN
QVTIO
∘VII N GIAMONI
L 35 ELEMBI
∘VIII N GIAMONI
AEDRINI
∘VIIII D GIAMO CANT
AMB ANT RIVR
L 40 ∘X TII MD SAMON
∘XI D DVMN AMB
∘XII III MD RIVRI
∘XIII D ANAG AMB
∘XIIII IIT D OGRONV
L 45 ∘XV D AMBQVT

Line 3 Before MMAN M. Lechat finds enough left of the apex of the letter Λ to establish its identity

Line 5. What remains of the letter preceding ANT seems to him to be the top twist of R or B He adds '*Je crois être presque certain que c'était un* B'

Line 11 He finds the top stroke of a T before ANAG.

Line 18. The reading after the day numeral is not NS but NO, quite clearly—I find a note that I had read it as M Lechat does I overlooked it afterwards It is an abbreviation of the word for night which was probably NOTS, usually further abbreviated into NS and N.

Line 21 M Dissard finds traces of the bars, but they are so faint that it is impossible to tell what the arrangement may have been, TII, ITI or IIT

Line 22 has a space between it and line 23 sufficient for another line, towards the end of which there may have been writing, but that part of the metal is wanting. Similarly between lines 35 and 36 there is room for about two lines see my *Celtic Inscriptions*, p. 89

Line 44. The NV is probably the engraver's misreading of NN ligatured.

SAMONIOS=

First Year (*Col* 1)	*Second Year* (*Col.* 4)	*Third Year* (*Col.* 7)
MID SAMM	**M SAMON**MAT	M. SAMONMAT
I D DVMANNI IVOS	∘I N DVMAN IVOS	I N DVMAN IVOS
II M D IVOS	∘II M D IVOS	II IVOS
III †II D EXINGIDVM IVOS	∘III †II D DVM IVO	III MELE IVO
IIII M D IVOS	∘IIII M D	IIII M D
V D AMB RIXRI	∘V D AMB	V D AMB
VI M D	∘VI M D	VI M D
∘VII N DVMANN INIS R	∘VII PRINI LOVDIN	VII PRINNI LOVD
∘VIII M D ꟼMO	∘VIII D DVM	VIII D DVM
∘VIIII D DVMANNI	∘VIIII II† M D	VIIII . . M D
∘X M D	∘X M D	X M D
∘XI D AMB	∘XI D AMB	XI D AMB
xII D M	∘XII M D	XII M D
xIII D M	∘XIII †II M D	XIII M D
xIIII D M	∘XIIII I†I M D	XIIII M D
XV D M	∘XV II† M D	XV M D

ATENOVX	**ATENOVX**	ATENOVX
I D DVMANNI	∘I D DVMAN	I D DVMANI
II M D TRINOSAM . SINDIV	∘II II† D TRINVXSAMO	II . . .
III D AMB	∘III D AMB	III D AMB
IIII M D	∘IIII †II D	IIII M D
V D AMB	∘V I†I D AMB	V D AMB
VI II† M D	∘VI II† M D	VI M D
VII D DVMANNI AMB	∘VII D AMB	VII D AMB
vIII †II D DVMANNI	∘VIII N INIS R	VIII . . .
VIIII N DVMANNI . IN . R	∘VIIII N INIS R	VIIII N INIS R
X M D	∘X †II M D	X M D
XI D AMB	∘XI I†I M D AMB IVOS	XI D AMB IVOS
XII M D	∘XII II† M D IVOS	XII M D IVOS
XIII D AMB	∘XIII D AMB IVOS	XIII D AMB IVOS
XIIII M D	∘XIIII M D IVOS	XIIII M D IVOS
XV D AMB	∘XV D AMB IVOS	XV D AMB IVOS

=JUNE

Fourth Year (*Col* 11) M. SAMON^MAT		*Fifth Year* (*Col.* 11) M. SAMON^MAT
• DVMAN	I	DVMAN
M D	II	M D •
• •	III	•
: M D	IIII	M D
D AMB	V	D AMB
M D	VI	M D
D	VII	• • • • • •
I M D	VIII	• • • • •
II D DVMANNI	VIIII	• •
M D	X	M D
D AMB	XI	D AMB
M D	XII	M D
I †II M D	XIII	M D
II II† M D	XIIII	M D
II† M D	XV	M D

ATENOVX		ATENOVX
D DVMANI	●I	D DVMANI
D PRINI SAM SINDI	●II	M D PRINO SAMON
D AMB	●III	D AMB
†II M D	●IIII	†II M D
†II D AMB	●V	I†I D AMB
III M D	●VI	II† M D
D DVM AMB	●VII	D AMB
I D DVM	●VIII	
II N DVM INIS R	VIIII	N INIS R
†II M D	X	M D
I†I D AMB	XI	D AMB
' II† M D	XII	M D
I D AMB	XIII	D AMB
II M D	XIIII	M D
D AMB	XV	D AMB

NOTES

YEAR I.

Here before Samonios co
first intercalary month, be
the Instrum

Sam v Presumably the e
has blundered in writing X

Sam viii MO is prece
a letter which seemed to
be more like an S than a
else, but M Lechat and M
think that the engraver fou
he was blundering and that h
finished the letter, whatever

At viiii has a point
DVMANNI, which shows th
DVMANNI is not a complet
namely the genitive, but an
viation of the nominative,
instance not DVMANNIO
DVMANNIA, qualifying th
nine NOTS, 'night' In
such month names may be n
to have been adjectives const
the case of the substantive qu
The same thing applies to C
and AMBAXTOS as might
pected from their adjectival
Not so with RIVROS, EQVC
CANTLOS they are substa
and, when qualifying, app
RIVRI, EQVI and CANTLI
have the same construction m
to this day, e.g *llong fawr*
'a big borrowed ship', as
longā mārā beneficī

YEAR II

Sam vii. LOVDIN is new.
chat writes of it thus —'I mal
à cause d'une croûte d'oxyd
certain Je l'ai fait const
M Dissard'

DVMANNIOS =

First Year (Col. 1)	*Second Year (Col. 4)*	*Third Year (Col. 7)*
M DVMAN ANM	M DVMAN ANM	M DVMAN ANM
I SAMON PRINNI LOVD	I SAMON PRIOVDIXIVOS	°I SAMON PRIN LOD
II D	II N IVOS	°II N IVOS
III D	III D IVOS	°III D IVOS
IIII D	IIII D IVOS	°IIII D IVOS
V PRINNI LAGIT	V PRINNI LAGIT	°V PRINNI LAGE
VI D	VI D	°VI D
VII D AMB	VII N INIS R	°VII N INIS R
VIII D	VIII I†I M D SAMONI	°VIII I†I M D SAMONI
VIIII D RIVRI	VIIII D	°VIIII D
X D RIVRI	X D	°X D
XI D RIVRI	XI N INIS R	°XI N INIS R
XII D	XII D	°XII D
XIII N INIS R	XIII D	°XIII D
XIIII D	XIIII D	°XIIII N
XV D IVOS	XV D	°XV D

ATENOVX	ATENOVX	ATENOVX
I	I M D SAMONI	°I M D SAMONI
II . . .	II M D SAMONI	°II M D SAMONI
III D AMB	III I†I D AMB	°III D AMB
IIII D	IIII II† D	IIII D
V D AMB	V D AMB	V D AMB
VI II† M D	°VI II† M D	VI II† D
°VII D AMB	°VII D AMB	VII D AMB
°VIII D	°VIII †II D	VIII D
°VIIII N INIS R	°VIIII N INIS R	VIIII N INIS R
°X II D	°X II† D	X D
°XI AMB	°XI D AMB	XI N AMB
°XII N INIS R IVO	°XII N INIS R	XII N INIS R
°XIII N AMB IVO	°XIII D AMB	XIII D AMB
°XIIII NS DS IVO	°XIIII NS DS	XIIII NS DS
DIVERTIOMV	DIVERTOMV	DIVORTOMV

=JULY

Fourth Year (Col 11)		Fifth Year (Col 14)
I DVMAN ANN		M DVMAN ANM
AMON PRINI LOVD	I	SAMON PRINNI LOVD
D	II	D
D	III	D
D	IIII	D
PRINNI LAGIT	V	PRINNI LAGIT
D	VI	D
N INIS R	VII	N INIS R
	VIII	. . .
D	VIIII	D
D	X	D
N INIS R	XI	N INIS R
D	XII	D
D	XIII	D
D	XIIII	.
D	XV	D

ATENOVX		ATENOVX
M D SAMON	I	M D SAMON
M D SAMON	II	M D SAMON
D AMB	III	D AMB
D	IIII	D
D AMB	V	D AMB
D	VI	D
D AMB	VII	D AMB
D	VIII	D
I N INIS R	VIIII	N INIS R
D	X	D
. . AMB	XI	D AMB
N INIS R	XII	N INI R
. . AMB . .	XIII	. AMB .
II NS DS	XIIII	NS DS . . .
DIVERTOMV		DIVIRTOMV

NOTES

Year I

Dum xv In rearranging month M Lechat discovered tha fragment preceding the Aten ended with an IVOS which escaped notice

At. x Only the two short of II† remain

At. xiii As to the N, M. Lc writes —'Reste d'un N, plutôt d'un D, mais pas certain.' (pare At xi, Col 7 (on the page) with the same entry N AMB. There are other insta such as Sam [II] i, N DVMAN IV Dum [II, III] ii, N IVOS, Ogron[I] and At.[III] ii, N CVTIO, Equos iii, N SEMIV and N SIMIVI; E [V] At i, N EDRIN, together w similar instances in the Secon tercalation, but there is no N AMB.

Year II.

Dum i. The letter followin is an I, which is probably a mi on the part of the engraver fo This crowded line would then re I SAMON PR LOVD IX IVOS

Year III.

Dum i LOD is followe a letter which may be L or th mains of a D. it seems to be to tell which, but it is a part o word IVOS that one would e there

Year IV

This has the name of the m followed by ANN, instead of which it should have been

RIVROS =

First Year (Col 2)	*Second Year (Col 5)*	*Third Year (Col. 8)*
M. RIVROS MAT	M. RIVROS MAT	M RIVROS MAT
I D ANAGANT . . .	I ANAGANT	∘I D ANAG
II PRINNI LOVD . .	II PRINNI LOVD	∘II PRINNI LOVD
III	III . .	∘III N
IIII . . . OCIOMV RIVO	IIII M D BRIG RIVROS	∘IIII M D BRIG RIV
V N INIS R	V N INIS R	∘V N INIS R
VI M D	VI M D	∘VI M D
VII ıṫı D ANAGANTIO	VII M D	∘VII M D
VIII ııṫ D ANAGANTIO	VIII PRINNI LOVD	∘VIII PRINI LO. .
VIIII D ANAGANTIO	VIIII M	VIIII ṫıı M D
X M D	X M D	X ııṫ M D
XI N INIS R	XI N INIS R	XI N INIS R
XII M D	XII M D	XII M D
DEVO RIVO RIVRI	XIII M IVG RIV . .	∘XIII . . . .
XIIII M D	XIIII . IVO	∘XIIII . . . .
XV M D	XV . . .	∘XV . . . . . .

ATENOVX	ATENOVX	ATENOVX
I M D	I M D	∘I M D
II M D	II M D	∘II M D
III D AMB	III D AMB	∘III D AMB IVO
IIII D	IIII D	∘IIII M D
V D AMB	V D AMB IVOS	∘V ṫıı D AMB IVO
VI D	VI D	∘VI ıṫı M D
VII D AMB	VII D AMB	∘VII ııṫ D AMB
VIII	VIII D PETIVX ANAG	∘VIII D PETI RIVRI ANAG
VIIII D AMB	VIIII D AMB	∘VIIII N
X	X ııṫ M D PETIVX RIVRI	X N RIVRIDRIVRIııṫM
XI D AMB	XI ṫıı D AMB IVOS	XI D AMB IVOS
XII M D	XII ıṫı M D IVOS	XII M D IVOS
XIII D AMB	∘XIII ııṫ D AMB IVOS	XIII D AMB IVOS
XIIII M D	∘XIIII M D IVOS	∘XIIII M D IVOS
XV D AMB	∘XV D AMB IVOS	∘XV D AMB IVOS

=AUGUST

	Fourth Year (Col. 11)		*Fifth Year (Col 14)*
	M RIVROS MAT		M RIVROS MAT
I	. . . . ANAG IVOS	I	D ANAGANTIO
II	PRINNI LOVD IVOS	II	PRINNI LOVD
III	. . . . . . IVOS	III	M D
IIII	M D BRIG RIVRI	IIII	. TIO RIVRO
V	N INIS R	V	N INIS R
VI	M D	VI	M D
VII	D ANAGTIOS	VII	. . . .
VIII	D ANAG	VIII	. . . .
VIIII	D ANAG	VIIII	. . . .
X	M D	X	M D
XI	N INIS R	XI	N INIS R
XII	M D	XII	M D
XIII	. . . IV G·RIVRI	XIII	. . . .
XIIII	. . . . M A T	XIIII	. . . .
XV	MAT NS	XV	. . . .
	ATENOVX		ATENOVX
I	M D	I	M D
II	M D	II	M D
III	D AMB	III	D AMB
IIII	D	IIII	D . . .
V	D AMB	V	D AMB
VI	D	VI	D
VII	D AMB	VII	D AMB
VIII	. . . . ANAG	VIII	D PET RIVRI ANAG
VIIII	D AMB	VIIII	D AMB
X	. . . . RIVRI	X	. . . RIVRI
XI	D AMB	XI	D AMB IVOS
XII	M D	XII	M D IVOS
XIII	D AMB	XIII	D AMB IVOS
XIIII	M D	XIIII	M D IVOS
XV	D AMB	XV	D AMB IVOS

NOTES

YEAR I.

Rivr xiii M Lechat reads at the end RI rather than RO The entry has neither the numeral (xiii) of the day nor its lettering (D or DM) the absence of the numeral makes it unique

YEAR II

Rivr. xi Between this line and the next there is space for an intervening line, which may have had a letter or two at its beginning.

At x has the complete entry III MD PETIVX RIVRI, so I have ventured on At viii to suggest D PETIVX ANAG This arrangement differs curiously from that of the third year, which has the two entries combined on At. viii, thus: D PETI RIVRI ANAG The fifth year seems to have followed suit, and I have detected the same rare entry on the 4th day of the second intercalation It will be noticed that all five occur on even days

YEAR IV.

Rivr xv M Lechat finds, after removing some verdigris, that the letters NS are preceded by AT with traces of an M before the A; so there seems to have been MAT in this line as well as in the previous one. It may have been preceded in both lines by DS.

YEAR V

Rivr iv A little way to the left of TIO he finds what seems to be the top of a somewhat tall G. This suggests to me some such word as BRIGIO-TIO, BRIGNO-TIO or the like, to be interpreted possibly as 'hill-house'

ANAGANTIOS =

First Year (*Col* 2)	*Second Year* (*Col* 5)	*Third Year* (*Col.* 8)
M ANAGAN ANM	M ANAGAN ANM	M ANAGTIO ANM
I M D RIVRI	°I M D RIVRI IVOS	°I M D RIVRI EXO IVO
II D	II D IVOS	°II D IVOS
III D	III D IVOS	III D IVOS
°IIII M D	IIII M D OCIOMV RIVRI	IIII M D OCIOM RIVRI
°V N INIS R	V N INIS R	V N INIS R
°VI PRINNI LAG	VI PRINNI LAG	VI PRINNI LAG
°VII M D OGRONI	VII D . .	VII NS DS
°VIII M D OGRONI	VIII D	VIII D
°VIIII M D OGRONI	VIIII D	VIIII III D
°X D	X D	X D
°XI D AMB	°XI D	XI D AMB
°XII †II D	°XII D	XII D
°XIII I†I D	°XIII D	XIII D
°XIIII . II† D	°XIIII D	XIIII D
XV D	°XV D	XV D
ATENOVX	ATENOVX	ATENOVX
°I D	°I D	I D
°II D	°II D	II D
°III D AMB	°III †II D AMB	III D AMB
°IIII D	°IIII II† D	IIII D
°V D AMB	°V II† D AMB	V D AMB
°VI N INIS R	°VI N INIS R	VI N INIS R
°VII . . . OGRO AMB	°VII N INIS R	VII N INIS R
°VIII M D CVTIO	°VIII D	VIII D
°VIIII D OGRON AMB	°VIIII N INIS R	VIIII N INIS R
°XI †II D	°X D	X D
°XI II† D	°XI II† D AMB	XI D AMB
°XII D	°XII D	XII D
°XIII D AMB	°XIII D AMB	XIII D AMB
°XIIII D	°XIIII D	XIIII D
DIVERTOMV	DIVORTOMV	DIVORTOMV

= SEPTEMBER

Fourth Year (*Col* 11)

M ANAGAN ANN

I	M D	RIVRo
∘II	D	
∘III	D	
∘IIII	M D	OCIOMV RIVRI
∘V	N	INIS R
∘VI	D	oGRONI
∘VII	M D	OGRONI
∘VIII	M D	OGRONI
∘VIIII	M D	oGRONI
∘X	D	
XI	D	AMB
XII	D	
XIII	D	
XIIII	D	
XV	D	

ATENOVX

∘I	D	
•II	D	
∘III	D	AMB
•IIII	D	~~AMI~~
∘V	D	AMB
∘VI	N	INIS R
∘VII I†I	D	AMB OGRON
•V.II I†I M	D	QVTI OGRON
∘VIIII	D	OGRON AMB
∘X	NS DS	
•XI	D	AMB
∘XII	D	
∘XIII	D	AMB
∘XIIII	D	

X DIVIRTOMV

Fifth Year (*Col* 11)

M ANAGAN ANM

I	M D	RIVRI IVOS
II	D	GO RIVRI
III	D	IVO
IIII	M D	OCIOMV RIVRI
V	N	INI R
VI	PRIN	LAG
VII	D	
VIII	D	
VIIII	D	
X	D	
XI	D	AMB
XII	D	
XIII	D	
XIIII	D	
XV	D	

ATENOVX

∘I	D	
∘II	D	
∘III †II	D	AMB
∘IIII I†I	D	
∘V ∘V II†	D	AMB
∘VI	N	INI R
∘VII	N	INI R
∘VIII	D	
∘VIIII	N	INI R
∘X †II	D	
XI II†	D	AMB
XII	D	
XIII	D	AMB
XIIII	D	

DIVORTOMV

NOTES

Year I

At x. Here the engraver cut XI for X, but stopped before deepening the I. Probably it was a blunder also to make I†I into ††I in the same line.

Year IV

Heading. Here the engraver cut ANN for ANM as in Duman[IV], Col. 11.

Anag. i. Of the O of RIVRO M. Lechat writes thus,—'Le O, mal visible à cause d'une croûte d'oxyde, paraît certain.' I should have expected RIVRI, and not RIVRO.

At i and ii seem to have had a letter or two each at the end, but they cannot be read.

At iiii. Here the engraver had nearly finished AMB when he discovered it was in the wrong place; he then cancelled the three letters one by one.

At last line. The engraver began to cut XV, hence the X under the X of XIIII, opposite DIVIRTOMV.

Year V

Anag. ii. M. Lechat regards GO as intact and certain. He identifies also the distinctive features of RIV; and I thought that I could distinguish the lower points of the final RI. The whole line would accordingly read as above.

At v. The engraver blundered here in cutting V twice.

OGRONIOS =

First Year (*Col* 2)		*Second Year* (*Col* 5)		*Third Year* (*Col.* 8)	
M OGRON MAT		M OGRON MAT		M OGRON MAT	
I	. . . . . .	I	. . . . .	I	. . . .
II	PRINNI LOVD	II	PRINNI LOVD	II	PRINNI LOVD
III	. . . . .	III	. . . . .	III	. . . .
oIIII	M D	IIII	M D	IIII	M D
oV	D	V	. . .	V	. . . . . .
oVI	M D	VI	M D	VI	M D
oVII	M D	VII	M D	VII	M D
oVIII	M D CVIIO	VIII	M D .	oVIII	M D . . .
oVIIII	N CVTIO	VIIII	. . .	oVIIII	†II M D
oX	M D	X	. M D	oX	I†I M D
oXI	D AMB	XI	D AMB	oXI	II† D AMB
oXII	M D	XII	M D	oXII	M D
oXIII	M D	XIII	M D	XIII	M D
oXIIII	M D	XIIII	. . D	XIIII	. D
oXV	M D	XV	. D	XV	. D

ATENOVX		ATENOVX		ATENOVX	
oI	M D CVTIO	I	M D CVTIO	I	M D CVTIO
oII	M D CVTIO	II	. CVTIO	II	N CVTIO
oIII	D CVTIO	III	D CVTIO AMB	III	II† D CVTIO AMB
oIIII	M D	IIII	M D	oIIII	M D
V	D AMB	V	D AMB	oV	D AMB
VI	D	VI	. . . D	oVI	†II M D
VII	D AMB	VII	. D AMB	oVII	I†I D AMB
VIII	M D CVTIO	VIII	. M D . . . CVTIO	oVIII	I†I M D CVTIO
VIIII	D AMB	VIIII	D AMB	oVIIII	D AMB
X	. M D	X	M D	oX	M D
XI	D AMB	XI	D AMB	oXI	D AMB
XII	N INIS R	XII	N INIS R	oXII	N INIS R
XIII	D AMB	XIII	D AMB	XIII	I†I D AMB
XIIII	M D	XIIII	M D	xIIII	II† M D
XV	D AMB	XV	D AMB	xV	D AMB

=OCTOBER

Fourth Year (*Col* 12)	*Fifth Year* (*Col* 15)
M OGROM MAT	M OGRON MAT
I	I .
II PRINNI LOVD	II PRINNI LOVD
III	III
IIII M D	IIII M D
V	V N INIS R
VI M D	VI M D
VII M D	VII M D
VIII M D	VIII M D . . .
VIIII	VIIII . . . .
X M D	X M D
XI D AMB	XI D AMB
°XII M D	XII M D
°XIII M D	XIII M D
°XIIII D	XIIII D
°XV D	XV D
ATENOVX	ATENOVX
°I ĬĬI M D QVTIO	°I M D QVTIO
°II IĬI M D QVTIO	°II M D QVTIO
°III IIĬ D AMB QVTIO	°III D AMB QVTIO
°IIII M D	°IIII M D
°V D AMB	°V D AMB
°VI D	°VI M D
°VII IĬI AMB QVTIO	°VII D AMB
°VIII IIĬ M D OGRO QVTI	°VIII M D QVTIO
°VIIII IIĬ D AMB QVTIO	°VIIII D AMB
°X M D	°X M D
°XI D AMB	°XI D AMB
°XII N INIS R	°XII N INIS R
°XIII D AMB	°XIII IĬI D AMB
°XIIII M D	°XIIII IIĬ M D
°XV D AMB	°XV D AMB

NOTES

YEAR I

Ogron. VIII may have ended with INIS R, but the bronze is gone, as in Cutios¹, At VII, VIII.

YEAR IV.

The heading has OGROM with M cut apparently instead of NI Compare GIAMOM for GIAMONI at the head of the month Giamonios, Col 15

At VII This entry is anomalous in having AMB placed where the day lettering should otherwise have come Usually the latter is omitted only where the entry is PRIN(N)I or PRIN(N)O one has to add the Rivros¹ day VIII, to which attention has already been called.

CVTIOS=

First Year (Col 2) — *Second Year (Col 5)* — *Third Year (Col. 8)*

M CVTIOS MAT

First Year			Third Year		
∘I	M D	IVOS	I	M	. . . . .
∘II	M D	IVOS	II	M D .	. .
∘III	M D	IVOS	∘III	M D	. .
∘IIII	PRINI	LOVD	∘IIII	PRINNI LOVD	
∘V	N	INIS R	∘V	N INIS R	
∘VI	M D		∘VI	M D	
∘VII	GIAM PRI LAG		∘VII	. . . . . .	
∘VIII	D GIAMONI		∘VIII	. . . . .	
∘VIIII	N GIAMO INIS R		∘VIIII	N . . . INIS R	
∘X	M D		∘X	M D	
∘XI	D	AMB	∘XI	D	AMB
∘XII	M D		XII	M D	
∘XIII	M D		XIII	M D	
∘XIIII	M D		XIIII	M D	
∘XV	M D		XV	M D	

ATENOVX

First Year			Third Year		
∘I	M D	OGRONI	I	M D OGRONI	
∘II	M D	OGRONI	II	M D OGRONI	
∘III	D	OGRONI	III	D AMB OGRO	
∘IIII	N	INIS R	IIII	N INIS R	
∘V	D	AMB	∘V	D	AMB
∘VI	N	INIS R	∘VI	N INIS R	
∘VII	N	GIAM INIS R	∘VII ꟷI	. . . . .	
∘VIII	N	GIAM INIS R	∘VIII I꟰I	. . . . .	
∘VIIII	D	AMB	∘VIIII II꟰	D	AMB
∘X	M D		∘X	M D	
∘XI	D	AMB	∘XI	D	AMB
∘XII	M D		∘XII	M D	
XIII	D	AMB	∘XIII ꟷII	D	
XIIII	M D		∘XIIII	M D	
XV	D	AMB	∘XV	D	AMB

= NOVEMBER

Fourth Year (Col 12) *Fifth Year (Col 15)*

M CVTIOS MAT

•I	M D	
•II	M D	
•III	M D	
•IIII		PRINNO LOVD
•V	N	INI R
•VI	M D	
•VII	M D	
•VIII	M D	
•VIIII	N	INI R
•X	M D	
•XI	D	AMB
•XII	N	
•XIII	M D	
•XIIII	M D	
•XV	D	

ATENOVX

•I	M D	OGRONI
•II	M D	OGRO
•III	D	AMB OGR
IIII	N	INI R
V	D	AMB
VI	N	INI R
VII	D	AMB
VIII	D	OGRONI
VIIII	D	AMB
X	M D	
XI	D ·	AMB
XII	M D	
XIII	. . . D	AMB IVO
XIIII	M D	IVO
XV	D	AMB IVO

NOTES

Owing to a remarkable accident two of the months are nearly complete, while two others are altogether missing

YEAR I

At VII and VIII may have both ended with INIS R, but the metal is gone see the note on Ogronios[1].

YEAR III

At VII Here a fracture has carried away the third of the vertical bars ǀǀǀ.

GIAMONIOS=

First Year (*Col.* 3)

M GIAMON ANM

I	M D SIMIVIS . . .	
II	D	
III	D	
IIII	D	
V	D	AMB
VI	D	
VII	D	
VIII	M D	
VIIII	M D	
X	D	
XI	D	AMB
XII	D	
XIII	D	
XIIII	D	
XV	D	

Second Year (*Col.* 6)

M GIAMONI ANM

I	M D SIMIVIS	
II	D	
III	D	
IIII	D	
V	D	AMB
VI	D	
◦VII	D . .	
◦VIII	M D . . .	
◦VIIII	M D . . .	
◦X	D	
◦XI	D	
◦XII	D	
XIII	D	
XIIII	D	
XV	D	

Third Year (*Col.* 9)

M GIAMON ANM

I		M D SIMIVISON GIA	
◦II		D	
◦III		D	
◦IIII		D	
◦V		D	AMB
◦VI		D	
◦VII	III†	M D SIMIVI TIOCBR	
◦VIII		M D SIMIVIS	
◦VIIII		M D SIMI SIND IVOS	
◦X		D	
◦XI		D	AMB
◦XII		D	
◦XIII		D	
◦XIIII		D	
◦XV		D	

ATENOVX

I		D		
II		NS DS		
◦III		D	AMB	
◦IIII	†II	D		
◦V	II†I	D	AMB	
◦VI	II†	D		
◦VII		D SIMIVI AMB		
◦VIII		M D SIMIVISO		
◦VIIII		D SIMIVIS AMB		
◦X	†II	D		
◦XI		N	INIS	R
◦XII	II†	D		
◦XIII		D	AMB	
◦XIIII		D		

DIVERTOMV

ATENOVX

◦I		D		
◦II		NS DS		
◦III		D	AMB	
◦IIII	†II	D		
◦V	III	D	AMB	
◦VI	II†	D		
◦VII		N	INI	R
◦VIII		N	INI	R
◦VIIII		D	AMB	
◦X	†II	D		
◦XI		N	INI	R
◦XII	II†	D		
◦XIII		D	AMB	
◦XIIII		D		

DIVORTOMV

ATENOVX

◦I		D		
◦II		NS DS		
◦III		D	AMB	
◦IIII		D		
◦V		D	AMB	
◦VI	II†	D		
VII		D SIMI AMB		
VIII		M D SIMIVI		
VIIII		D SIMIVIS AMB		
X		D		
XI		N INIS		R
XII		D		
XIII		D	AMB	
XIIII		D		

DIVORTOMV

= DECEMBER

	Fourth Year (*Col* 12)	*Fifth Year* (*Col* 15)
	M GIAMON ANM	M GIAMOM ANM
I	M D SIMIVIS	M D SIMIVS EXO IVO
II	D	D IVO
III	D	D
IIII	D	D
V	D AMB	D AMB
VI	D	D
VII	D	D . .
VIII	M D	M D .
VIIII	M D	M D . . .
X	D	D
XI	D AMB	D AMB
XII	D	D
XIII	D	D
XIIII	D	D
XV	D	D

	ATENOVX	ATENOVX
I	D	D
II	NS DS	NS DS
III	D AMB	D AMB
IIII	. . . D	†II D
V	. . . D AMB	ı†ı D AMB
VI	. . . D	II† D
VII	N INIS R	SIMI AMB
VIII	N INIS R	SIMIVI
VIIII	D AMB	D SIMIVI AMB
X	D	. . D
XI	N INI R	N INIS R
XII	D	. . D
XIII	D AMB	D AMB
XIIII	D	D
	DIVERTOMV	DIVERTOMV

NOTES

Year II.

At the bottom under the X of XIIII traces are to be found of another X, the engraver having forgotten that there was no day XV in this fortnight compare Anag.[iv], Col. 11.

Year III

Here before Giamonios comes the second intercalary month, preceding the winter half of the year.

Year V.

The engraver cut GIAMOM with M for NI as in the case of OGRONI in Ogron.[iv], Col. 12

At VII and VIII. Neither of these lines appears to have had the D or M D which was to be expected, but near the end M. Lechat detects traces of writing so placed as to look as if standing between the two lines he suggests I, perhaps IV, but the other years do not sugges IVOS.

SIMIVISONNIOS =

First Year (Col. 3)	*Second Year* (Col. 6)	*Third Year* (Col. 9)
M SIMIVI MAT	**M SIMIVIS MAT**	**M SIMIVIS MAT**
•I GIAMO PRIN LAG	I GIAMO PRIN LAG	•I GIAMON PRIN LAG
•II M D	II	•II M D
•III D EQVI	III D EQVI	•III D EQVI
•IIII M D	IIII M D	•IIII M D
•V N INIS R	V N INIS R	•V N INIS R
•VI D EQVI	VI D EQVI	•VI D EQVI
•VII D EQVI	VII .	•VII D EQVI
•VIII EQV PRI LA	VIII . . .	•VIII EQVI PRINNI LA
•VIIII D EQVI	VIIII D	•VIIII D EQVI
•X M D	X M D	•X M D
•XI D AMB	XI .	•XI †II AMB
•XII M D	•XII M D	•XII II† M D
•XIII D EQVI	•XIII D EQVI	•XIII D EQVI
xIIII NS DS	•XIIII . .	•XIIII D EQVI
xv . . NS EQVI	•XV D EQVI	•XV D EQVI

ATENOVX	ATENOVX	ATENOVX
I D . .	•I D EQVI	•I D EQVI
II D .	•II D EQVI	•II D EQVI
III D .	•III D AMB EQVI	III D EQVI AMB
IIII D .	•IIII II† M D	IIII D
•V D AMB	•V D AMB	V D AMB
•VI †II D EQVI	•VI II† D EQVI	VI D EQVI
•VII II† D EQVI AMB	VII D AMB	VII D . . . .
•VIII D EQVI	VIII †II M D	VIII D . . . .
•VIIII D AMB EQVI	VIIII †II D AMB	VIIII D . . . .
•X M D	X M D	X M D
•XI D AMB EQVI	XI D AMB	XI D AMB EQVI
•XII M D IVOS	XII D	XII M D IVOS
•XIII D AMB IVOS	XIII D AMB	XIII D IVOS
•XIIII M D IVOS	XIIII D AMB	XIIII M D IVOS
•XV D AMB IVOS	XV D AMB	XV D IVOS

=JANUARY

Fourth Year (Col 12)			*Fifth Year (Col 15)*		
	M SIMIVIS MAT			**M SIMIVIS MAT**	
•I	GIAMO PRINI LAG		I	GIAMO PRINI LAG	
•II	N		II	. .	
•III ΙΤΙ	D	EQVI	•III	D	EQVI
•IIII	M D		•IIII	M D	
•V	N	INIS R	•V	N	INIS R
•VI	D	EQVI	•VI	D	EQVI
•VII	M D	TIOCOBREXTIO	•VII	.	. .
•VIII	M D		•VIII	. . .	.
•VIIII	M D	SINDIV IVOS	VIIII	. .	. . .
•X	M D		X	M D	
•XI	N		XI . .	M D	
XII	M D		XII	. . . .	
XIII	D	EQVI	XIII	D	EQVI
XIIII	D	EQVI	XIIII	.	. .
XV	D	EQVI	XV	. .	EQVI
	ATENOVX			**ATENOVX**	
I	D	EQVI	I	D	EQVI
II	D	EQVI	II	D	EQVI
III	D	EQVI AMB	III	D	EQVI AMB
IIII . .	D		IIII . .	D	
V	D	AMB	V	D	AMB
VI . . .	D	EQVI	VI	D	EQVI
VII	D		VII	D	. .
VIII . . .	D	.	VIII	. D	. .
VIIII . .	D	.	VIIII . .	D	.
X	M D		X	M D	
XI	D	AMB -	XI	D	AMB
XII	M D		XII	M D	
XIII	D	AMB	XIII	D	AMB
•XIIII	M D		XIIII	M D	
•XV	D		XV	D	AM

NOTES

YEAR I.

SIMI XV The lower portion of all the letters is gone, but SEQVI are certain The letter preceding the S, however, may have been N or possibly V. In the former case the full reading may have been DS MA NS EQVI parallel to line 25 of the second intercalation. In the other case one might suggest perhaps D SIMIVS EQVI

YEAR II.

At XIV The AMB wrongly placed here on an even day is very faint, possibly it was never finished by being duly deepened. Compare the cancelled AMB in Anag IV, At. IV, Col. 11

EQVOS=

First Year (Col 3)	*Second Year (Col 6)*	*Third Year (Col. 10)*
M EQVOS ANM	**M EQVOS ANM**	**M EQVOS ANM**
◦I D IVOS	◦I D	◦I D IVOS
◦II PRINI LAG IVOS	◦II PRINNI LAC	◦II PRIN LAG IVOS
◦III M D SIMI IVOS	◦III M D .	III M D IVOS
◦IIII D IVOS	◦IIII D	IIII D IVOS
◦V D AMB	◦V D AMB	V D AMB
◦VI M D SIMIVISO	◦VI I†I N .	VI D SEMIVISO
◦VII D ELEMBI	◦VII D AMB	VII D ELEMBI
◦VIII D ELEMBI	◦VIII D	VIII D ELEMBI
◦VIIII D ELEMBI	◦VIIII D	VIIII D ELEMBI
X D	◦X . D	X D
XI D AMB	XI D AMB	XI D AMB
XII D	XII D	XII D
XIII M D SEMIVIS	XIII M D SEMIVISO	XIII M D SEMIVISO
XIIII M D SEMIVIS	XIIII D SEMIVISO	XIIII M D SEMIVISO
XV M DSEMICANO	XV D SEMI . .	XV M D SEMI .

ATENOVX	**ATENOVX**	**ATENOVX**
•I M D SEMIVIS	I M D SEMIVISO	I M D SEMIVISO
•II M D SEMIVIS	II M D SEMIVISO	II M D SEMIVIS
◦III D AMB SIMIV	III D SEMIVISO	III D SLMIV
◦IIII D	IIII D	IIII D
•V D AMB	V D AMB	V D AMB
◦VI I†I D SIMISO	VI D	VI . . D . .
•VII I†I D ELEM AMB	VII . . D . . . . AMB	VII D . . . . AMB
◦VIII II† D ELEMB	VIII D	VIII D . .
◦VIIII D AMB ELEM	VIIII D AMB .	VIIII D AMB . . .
•X D	X D	X D
•XI †II D AMB	XI . . D AMB	XI D AMB
•XII I†I D	XII . D IVOS	XII D
•XIII II† D AMB	XIII D AMB IVOS	XIII D
◦XIIII D	XIIII D IVOS	XIIII D
XV D	XV D AMB IVOS	XV D

= FEBRUARY

Fourth Year (*Col.* 13)			*Fifth Year* (*Col* 16)		
M EQVOS ANM			**M EQVOS ANM**		
•I	D		•I	D	
•II	PRINI	LAG	•II	PRIN	LAG
•III	N	SEMIV . .	•III	N	SIMIVI
•IIII IIT	D		•IIII IIT	D	
•V	D	AMB	•V	D	AMB
•VI	M D	SIM	•VI	M D	SEMI
VII	D		•VII	D	
VIII	PRINI	LAG	•VIII	PRINO	LAG
VIIII IIT	D		•VIIII IIT	D	
X IIT	D		X IIT	D	
XI	D		XI	D	AMB
XII	D		XII	D	
XIII	M D	SIMI	XIII	M D	SIMIVISO
XIIII	M D	SIMI	XIIII	D	SIMIVISO
XV	M D	SIMI	XV	M D	SIMIVISO

ATENOVX			ATENOVX			
I	M D	SEMIV	I	M D	SIMIVIS	
II	M D	SEMIV	II	M D	SIMIVIS	
III	D	SEMIV	•III	D	SIMIVIS	
IIII	D		•IIII	D		
V	D	AMB	•V TII	D	AMB	
VI	D	BV	•VI IIT	D		
VII	D	. . AMB	•VII IIT	D	AMB	
VIII	D	. . . . .	•VIII	D		
VIIII	D	AMB . . .	VIIII	D	AMB	
X	D		X	D		
XI	D	AMB	XI	D	AMB	IVO
XII	D		XII	D		IVO
XIII	D		XIII	D	AMB	IVO
XIIII	D		XIIII	D		IVO
XV	D		XV	D	AMB	IVO

NOTES

YEAR I

At VII has ELEM AMB, but At VIII AMB ELEM The same alternation occurs in the same part of Simivisonnios and Elembivios, also in Anagantios, but not in Ogromios or Giamonios This does not exhaust the instances in point, and close comparison will convince one that the position of AMB relatively to that of the month names was a matter of little or no consequence.

YEAR IV.

At VI. Here there is probably some mistake, as M. Lechat detects before the V the remains of a letter which seems to him to be the right-hand part of a B The entry to be expected would possibly be SIMIV, or perhaps ELEMB, but the abbreviation ELEMBV would be novel.

YEAR V

At V and VI. M. Dissard detects a D in both of these lines, so I have had it inserted

ELEMBIVIOS=

First Year (*Col* 3)		*Second Year* (*Col* 6)		*Third Year* (*Col* 10)	
M ELEMB ANM		M ELEMBIV ANM		M ELEMB ANM	
I	D	•I	D IVOS	I	D
II	D IVOS	•II	D IVOS	II	D
III	PRINNI LAG IVOS	•III	PRINNI LAG IVOS	III	PRINNI LAG IVOS
IIII	D	•IIII	D IVOS	IIII	D
V	D AMB	•V	D IVOS	V	D AMB
VI	D	•VI	D AMB	VI	D
VII	D	•VII	D	VII	D
VIII .	. . .	•VIII	D	VIII	. . . . TIOCOB
VIIII	. . . . .	•VIIII	PRINNI LAG	•VIIII	M D EDRINI
X	N INIS R	•X	N INI R	•X	N INIS R
XI	D AMB	•XI	D AMB	•XI	D AMB
XII	D	•XII	D	•XII	D
XIII	D	•XIII	D	•XIII	D
XIIII	D	•XIIII	D	•XIIII	D
XV	D	•XV	D	•XV	D

ATENOVX		ATENOVX		ATENOVX	
I	. EDRINI	•I	M D EDRINI	I	. EDRINI
II . . .	D EDRINI	•II	M D EDRINI	II . .	D EDRINI
III . . .	D AMB EDRIN	•III †II	D AMB EDRIN	III . . .	D AMB EDRIN
IIII	D	IIII	D	IIII	D
V	D AMB	V	D AMB	V	D AMB
VI	D	VI	D	VI	D
VII	D EDRI AMB	VII	D AMB	VII	D . . AMB
VIII	M D EDRINI	VIII	D	VIII	D . . . .
vIIII	D AMB EDRINI	VIIII	D AMB . .	VIIII	D . AMB
X	D SIND IVOS	X	D	X	D . . . .
•XI	D AMB	XI	D AMB IVOS	XI	D AMB
•XII †II	D	XII	D IVOS	XII .	D
•XIII †II	D AMB	XIII	D AMB IVOS	XIII . .	D AMB
•XIIII II†	D	XIIII	D IVOS	XIIII	D
DIVERTOMV		DIVERTOMV		DIVERTOMV	

= MARCH

Fourth Year (*Col* 13) | *Fifth Year* (*Col.* 16)

M ELEMBIV ANM

I		D		IVO
II		D		IVO
III		PRINNI LAG		IVO
IIII		D		IVOS
V		D	AMB	IVOS
VI		D		
VII		D		
VIII	.	. .		
VIIII		PRINNI LAG		
X		N		
XI	IT	D	AMB	
XII		D		
•XIII		D		
•XIIII		D		
•XV		N		

ATENOVX

•I		N	EDRINI	
•II		D	EDRINI	
•III		D	AMB	EDRI
•IIII		D		
•V		D	AMB	
•VI	TII	D		
•VII	ITI	D	AMB	
•VIII		D		
•VIIII		D	AMB	
•X		D		
•XI		D	AMB	
•XII	TII	D		
•XIII	ITI	D	AMB	
•XIIII	IIT	D		

DIVERTOMV

NOTES

YEAR II

Elem VI. Here the engraver has apparently placed AMB in the wrong line, and left it uncorrected It should have been in the previous line as duly pointed out by Commandant Espérandieu.

YEAR V.

Elem XI There is nothing left of the first of the three bars of IIT.

EDRINIOS=

First Year (*Col.* 4)			*Second Year* (*Col.* 7)			*Third Year* (*Col.* 10)		
M EDRINI MAT			M EDRINIOS MAT			M EDRIN MAT		
I	.	CANTLI	I		IVOS	I	. . . .	. .
II	. . .		II		IVOS	II	. . .	.
III	. .		III		IVOS	III	.	. . .
IIII	.		IIII	. .	. . .	IIII	.	. . .
V	D	AMB	V			V	D	AMB
VI	.		VI	. .	.	VI	. . . .	
VII		CANT	VII	.	.	VII	.	CANTLI
VIII		CANTLI	VIII	.		VIII	. . .	CANTL
VIIII		.	VIIII			VIIII	.	CANTI
X	.	.	X	. . .		X	. . . .	
XI	D	AMB	XI	D	AMB	°XI	D	ANB
XII	M D		XII ı†ı	M D		°XII †ıı	M D	
XIII	M D		XIII ı†ı	M D		°XIII ı†ı	M D	
XIIII	M D		XIIII ıı†	M D		°XIIII ıı†	M D	
XV	M D		XV	D M		°XV	M D	

ATENOVX				ATENOVX				ATENOVX			
I	D	ELEMBI		°I	D	ELEMB		°I	D	ELEMB	
II	D	ELEMBI		°II	D	ELEMB		°II	D	ELEMB	
III	D	ELEMBI	AMB	°III	D	ELEMBI	AMB	°III	D	ELEM	AMB
IIII .	M D			°IIII †ıı	M D			°IIII ılı	M D		
V	D	AMB		°V ı†ı	D	AMB		°V ıı†	D	AMB	
VI	M D			°VI ıı†	M D			°VI ıı†	M D		
VII .	D	AMB		°VII	D	AMB		°VII	D	CANTL	AMB
VIII . .	D			°VIII	D			°VIII	D	CANTL	
°VIIII	D			°VIIII †ıı	D	AMB		°VIIII	D	CANTL	
°X	D			°X ı†ı	D	SIND	IVOS	°X ı†ı	M D		
°XI	D	AMB		°XI ıı†	D	AMB		°XI ıı†	D	AMB	
°XII	M D			°XII	M D			°XII	M D		
•XIII	D	AMB	IVOS	°XIII	M D	AMB		°XIII	D	AMB	
°XIIII	M D		IVOS	°XIIII	M D			•XIIII	M D		
°XV	D	AMB	IVOS	xV	N			•XV	N		

=APRIL

Fourth Year (Col. 13)	*Fifth Year (Col. 16)*
M EDRIN MAT	**M EDRINI MAT**
I . . . . . . S IVO	∘I D
II	∘II M D
III	III . . .
IIII	IIII . . .
V D AMB	V D AMB
VI	VI . . . .
VII . . . . CANTI	VII . . . . CANTL
VIII . . CANTI	VIII . . CANTL
VIIII . . . . CANTL	VIIII . CANTL
X . D	X . D
XI D AMB	XI D AMB
XII M D	∘XII M D
XIII . M D	∘XIII M D
XIIII . M D	∘XIIII M D
XV . M D	∘XV M D
ATENOVX	**ATENOVX**
I D ELEMBI	∘I D ELEMB
II D ELEMBI	∘II N
III D AMIELEMB	∘III D AMB ELEMB
IIII II M D	∘IIII M D
V IIϮ D AMB	∘V D AMB
∘VI IIϮ M D	∘VI IIϮ M D
∘VII D AMB	∘VII D AMB
∘VII[illegible] M D	∘VIII M D
∘VIIII ϮII D AMB	∘VIIII D AMB
∘X IϮI M D SINDIV IVO	∘X M D SINDIV IVO
∘XI IIϮ D AMB	∘XI D AMB
∘XII M D	∘XII M D
∘XIII D AMB	∘XIII D AMB
∘XIIII M D	∘XIIII M D
∘XV N	∘XV N

NOTES

Year II

Edrin xiii Between this and the next line there is left an interval wide enough for two lines of writing

Edrin xv Here we have DM, which was possibly used to describe a day more unequivocally 'good or lucky' than MD Compare Samon [i], the four last days of the first half of which are all marked DM Compare also Rivros [iv], xiii, xv, and the 15th day of the second intercalary month, Col 9

Year III

Edrin viii. Here the engraver has cut CANTI instead of CANTL or CANTLI

Edrin. xi Here we have ANB instead of the AMB which it should have been

Year IIII

Edrin. i The S which appears before IVOS should perhaps be the end of the name CANTLOS, though the corresponding day in Year 1 has CANTLI, which would be the form to be expected here likewise, but the word wanted may have been quite a different one compare Samonios, day iii, Cols. 1 and 7.

At iii has AMI for AMB.

At. iiii should have ϮII, but all that remains is II.

CANTLOS =

First Year (Col. 1)		*Second Year* (Col. 7)		*Third Year* (Col. 10)	
M CANTLOS ANM		M CANTLOS ANM		M CANTLOS ANM	
•I	D AEDRIN	•I	M D EDRINI	•I	M D AEDRINI IVOS
•II	D	•II	D	•II	D IVOS
•III	D	•III	D	•III	D IVOS
•IIII	PRINNI LAG	•IIII	PRINNI LAGE	•IIII	PRINNI LAG
•V	D AMB	•V	D AMB	•V	D AMB
•VI	D	•VI	D	•VI	D
•VII	D CANTLI	•VII	D	•VII	SAMON PRINI LOVD
VIII	D CANTLI	•VIII	D	•VIII	D DVMANI
VIIII	D CANTLI	•VIIII	D	•VIIII	M D SAMONI
X	D	•X	D	•X	D
XI	D AMB	XI	D AMB	•XI	D AMB
•XII	D	XII	D	•XII	D
•XIII	D	XIII	D	XIII	D
•XIIII	D	XIIII	D	XIIII	D
XV	D TIOCOBRrXT	XV . . .	TIOCOBREXTIO	XV	D TIOCOBREXT

ATENOVX

ATENOVX		ATENOVX		ATENOVX	
I	D	I	D	•I	D
II	D	II	D	•II	D
III	D AMB	•III	D AMB	III	D AMB
IIII	N INIS R	•IIII	N INIS R	•IIII	N INI R
V	D AMB	•V	D AM	•V	D AMB
VI	D	•VI II†	D	•VI	D
•VII	D AMB	•VII	D AMB	VII	D AMB
•VIII	D	•VIII	D	VIII . .	D
•VIIII I†I	N INNIS R	•VIIII	D AMB	VIIII	D AMB
•X	D	•X	D	X	D
•XI	D AMB	•XI	D AMB	XI	D AMB
•XII	D . . IVOS	•XII	D	XII	D
•XIII II†	D AMB IVOS	•XIII †II	D AMB	XIII . .	D AMB
•XIIII I†I	D IVO DIB CANT	•XIIII I†I	D	XIIII	D
DIVERTOMV		DIVERTOMV		DIVERTOMV	

= MAY

Fourth Year (Col 18)				*Fifth Year (Col 16)*			
M CANTLOS ANM				**M CANTLOS ANM**			
•I		M D AEDRINI		•I		M D EDRINI	
•II		D		•II		D	
•III		D		•III		D	
•IIII		PRINNI LAG		•IIII		PRINN · N LAG	
•V	ĪĪ	D AMB		•V	IIT	D AMB	
•VI		N		•VI		N	
•VII		D		•VII		D	
•VIII		D		•VIII		D	
•VIIII		D		VIIII		D	
•X	ŤII	D		X		D	
•XI	IĪI	D AMB		XI		D AMB	
•XII		D		XII		D	
•XIII		D		XIII		D	
XIIII		D		XIIII		D	
XV		D TIOCOBREXTIO		XV		D TIOCOBREXTIO	
ATENOVX				**ATENOVX**			
I		D		I		D	
II		D		II		D	
III		D AMB		III		D AMB	
IIII		N INIS R		IIII		N INIS R	
V		D AMB		V		D AMB	
VI		D		VI		D	
VII		D AMB		VII		D AMB	
VI...		D		VIII		D	
VIIII		D AMB		VIIII		D AMB	
X		D		X		D	
XI		D AMB		•XI		D AMB	
XII		D		•XII		D	
XIII . .		D AMB		•XIII	ŤII	D AMB	IVO
XIIII . .		D		•XIIII		D	IVO
DIVERTOMV				DIVERTOMV			

NOTES

YEAR I

Cantlos xv It is impossible to say whether X is preceded by E or I as there is only the imperfect top of the letter left

At. viii There is an R which has overflowed beyond the holes preceding the numerals of the month on the right, namely, Anagantios I conclude that it formed part of the formula N INNIS R. The R is duly shown in the Chart of 1898

YEAR II

At v Of AMB there remain only AM followed by an accidental scratch

YEAR V

Cantlos iii. The reading is certain, but I do not know what to make of N · So far I have found nothing to show that it should be added to the list of the engraver's errors. And at this point I may mention, that care has been taken to direct attention to those errors. Most of them are individually trivial, but in the aggregate they may prove of some importance in estimating the value of the readings which may find acceptance as evidence on which to base certain arguments or certain lines of interpretation.

UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

There remain a few small fragments still unplaced they are the following which M Lechat has examined and described for me —

1 One contains at its top the lower half of the big X of ATENOVX and underneath VI, VI, I AMB, placed approximately as in the margin —

X
VI
VI
I AMB

The three entries were probably EQVI or SIMIVI; but the latter is the less common. This points accordingly to SIMIVISONNIOS; but the fragment does not fit into the space for that month in the first year There is room for it, however, in the 4th or 5th year, but M Dissard is not quite satisfied that the metal is of the right thickness In the Charts it was placed at the top of the Atenoux. of Edrinios^{I}, Col. 4.

2 This is a piece consisting of two fragments which M. Dissard fitted together last year. The whole reads as below —

◦VI	D	
◦VII	PRINNI LA	
◦VIII	D	
◦VIIII	N IMI	R
◦X	D	
XI	D AMB	
XII	D	

In the 9th day the engraver has made a slip in cutting IMI for INNI or INI—both spellings occur The occurrence of PRINNI LA on the 7th day would seem to point to Cutios as the month to which this fragment may be supposed to have belonged. The larger piece was placed near the top of Elembivios^{IV}, Col 13, in both Charts, while the other was only found last year among the fragments of the god's statue

3 The next fragment to be mentioned was placed in Equos^{II}, Col 6, in both Charts, and it stands thus —

SIMIVISO
D SIMIVISO
D SIMI
NOVX
MIV
V

This could be located in Equos^{II} or Equos^{III} as far as room is concerned, but as it is isolated from its surroundings it is impossible to be certain.

4. The next bit had been placed in the Atenoux. of Dumannios^{V} in both Charts, Col. 14 It reads simply—

VI
◦VII
◦VIII

So far there is no certainty where it should be placed

5 The next and last is the most remarkable of the unplaced fragments, and it reads thus —

M D T
M D TI
M D
D
D
D

The first M is very fragmentary, and the first T is apparently due to a slip on the part of the engraver he cut it a line too high. The TI is probably the beginning of TIOCOBREXTIO 'the temple legislation' The regular month for this entry appears to have been Cantlos, the day being the 15th, which is vacant in the 4th and 5th years, but it will fit neither Occasional entries of TIOCOBREXTIO appear on the 7th day of Giamonios and Simivisonnios, and on the 8th day of Elembivios. So one might expect this fragment to fit in some month where MD TI would come on the 7th or 8th day of the first fortnight. It has not appeared in either of the Charts as it has only been found recently among the fragments of the god's statue, together with two others, which M Dissard was able to attach to other fragments last August in the presence of M. Lechat and myself.

FIRST REPORT ON RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROMAN BRITAIN

By F. J. HAVERFIELD

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read February 23, 1910

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COLUMN AND LINE IN THE PENINSULAR WAR

By C. W. C. OMAN

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read March 16, 1910

I BELIEVE that I owe my admission to the ranks of this honourable society to my studies (such as they are) in the history of the Art of War, so that when our Secretary signified to me that my turn had come round, and that it was incumbent on me to contribute a paper on some appropriate subject during the spring of 1910, I had no hesitation in restricting my limits of choice to the sphere of military history To-day therefore I venture to set before you the results of five years of investigations into the central tactical problem of the Peninsular War—the conflict of column and line in the days of Wellington. The study of that problem has forced me to work through thousands of pages of printed history and biography, and hundreds of unpublished documents in the London Record Office and the Paris *Archives de la Guerre.* Nor had I long devoted myself to it, before I found that it was also necessary for me to tramp over the hills and ravines of many a Peninsular battlefield, for conclusions as to tactical matters often need to be verified by a survey of the ground, and a careful walk over the site solves many an old problem—if it sometimes raises a new one, unsuspected by those who have not had the advantage of studying the topography on the spot So with all diffidence I lay before you to-day the conclusions to which my researches have led me.

Every reader who takes a serious interest in military history is aware that, in a general way, the victories of Wellington over his French adversaries were due to a skilful use of the two-deep line against the massive column, which had become the regular formation for a French army acting on the offensive during the later years of the great war that raged from 1792 till 1814. But I am not sure that the methods and limitations of Wellington's system are fully appreciated, and it is to them that I am devoting my attention to-day. For it is not sufficient to lay down the general thesis that he found himself opposed by troops who invariably worked in column,

and that he beat those troops by the simple expedient of meeting them, front to front, with other troops who as invariably fought in the two-deep battle line. The statement is true in a general way, but needs explanation and modification.

The use of infantry in line was no invention of Wellington's, nor is it a universal panacea for all the crises of war. Troops who are armed with missile weapons, and who hope to prevail in combat by the rapidity and accuracy of their shooting, must necessarily array themselves in an order of battle which permits as many men as possible to use their arms freely. This was as clear to Edward III at Crecy, or to Henry V at Agincourt, as to Wellington at Bussaco and Salamanca A shooting-line must be made as thin as is consistent with solidity, since every soldier who is placed so far to the rear that he cannot see the object at which he is aiming, or cannot use his weapon at all, represents a lost weapon, whether he be armed with bow or with musket or with rifle. And the general principles which guided an English general who wished to win by his archery in the Hundred Years' War were much the same as those which prevail to-day. There was, it is true, an intermediate period in the seventeenth century, when line-fighting for infantry armed with missile weapons seemed to have gone out of fashion. This gap in the continuity of British tactics was due to the introduction of fire-arms, which during the first two centuries of their existence were both slow to load and very short in their range. The earliest musket had an effective range decidedly less than that of the old English bow, and took five times as long between shot and shot. Indeed, it is not easy to make out the reasons why it superseded the bow in the end of the reign of Elizabeth, till one has gone through the series of controversial pamphlets which were written by the advocates of the rival weapons between 1590 and 1600. But after the disappearance of the archer from the British line of battle, there was a century during which generals trusted to the pike and the dense column as the main striking force in infantry fighting, while the musket became for a time the subsidiary arm. This came to an end with the invention of the bayonet in the later seventeenth century, which enabled every musketeer to become his own pikeman, and abolished the necessity for the further continuance of the thick clump of pikes as a shelter and support for the slowly-loading bearer of the fire-arm. The Boyne and Killiecrankie were the last British battles in which the pike appeared, and Marlborough's victories were won by regiments armed with musket and bayonet, in the style which was to endure without change for the next hundred and fifty years, for no essential difference

was introduced into the weapon of the infantry soldier till the middle of the nineteenth century, when the rifle, which had been employed hitherto only by small and chosen bodies of light infantry, was put into the hands of whole armies. We had possessed riflemen in the British army as early as the War of American Independence, and specialized rifle battalions since 1800, yet so late as the Crimean War certain divisions still carried the old 'Brown Bess.'

During the wars of the eighteenth century, from Marlborough to Frederick the Great, all European infantry was fighting normally in line, three or four deep, and looking for success in battle to the rapidity and accuracy of its fire, not to the impetus of advances in column, such as had been practised by the pikemen of the seventeenth century, and were to be introduced again by the French generals of the Revolutionary Period. Armies had a stereotyped array, with infantry battalions deployed in long lines in the centre, and heavy masses of cavalry covering their wings. A glance at the battle plans of the War of the Austrian Succession or the Seven Years' War shows a marvellous similarity in the general arrangements of the rival hosts, and the front-to-front collision of long parallel lines was normal, though commanders of genius had their own ways of varying the tactics of the day. Frederick the Great's famous 'oblique order', or advance in *échelon*, with the strong striking-wing brought forward, and the weaker containing-wing held back and refused, is sufficiently well known. Occasionally he was able to vary it, as at Rossbach and Leuthen, and to throw great part of his troops across the enemy's flank at right angles, so as to roll him up in detail. But these were 'uncovenanted mercies' obtained owing to the abnormal sloth or unskilfulness of the opposing general. They partook in no degree of the nature of an attack in column for the purpose of drilling a hole in the front of the enemy's line of battle. There are, of course, instances in the old eighteenth-century wars of engagements won by the piercing of a hostile centre, such as Marshal Saxe's victory of Roucoux (1746), and we may find in other operations of that great general certain instances of the use of columns for the attack of chosen sections of the hostile line, and more frequently cases where the line of deployed battalions was flanked or supported by units in column.[1] But this was exceptional. At Fontenoy it is often said that the Duke of Cumberland assaulted the French left-centre in column, but this is quite inaccurate as regards his original array. His English and Hanoverian infantry went forward in three successive

[1] As his '*Rêveries*' show, Maurice disbelieved in the efficacy of linear fire-tactics, and advocated a battle-order eight deep.

lines, and his formation only assumed something like a columnar shape when he had broken through the French first line for a certain space, and had then been forced to throw back both his wings, in order to avoid being taken in flank by fresh troops from the intact parts of Saxe's front and from his general reserves. To speak of the 'invincible column of Fontenoy' is to use a most misleading term.

Normally the tactics of the eighteenth century were directed to the smashing up of one of the enemy's wings, either by outflanking it, or by assailing it with very superior forces, while the rest of the hostile army was 'contained' by equal or inferior numbers, according as the assailant had more or less troops than his enemy. The decisive blow was more often than not delivered by a superior mass of cavalry concentrated on the striking wing, which commenced the action by turning or beating down the inferior hostile cavalry, after which the infantry of the turned wing would be helpless against attacks on its flank or rear by the victorious horse of the assailant Such a type of battle may sometimes be found much later, even in Napoleonic times Ocaña is a perfect example of it. There the reinforced cavalry wing of the French army tumbled the Spanish right-flank cavalry into ruin, and then fell on the exposed rear of the long line of infantry which the beaten cavalry ought to have protected.

Speaking roughly, however, the period of set battles in line terminated with the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War. The generals who conducted the first campaigns of that struggle on the side of the allies had been trained in the school of Frederick the Great, or of his rivals Daun and Laudohn, and conscientiously attempted to reproduce the old type of engagements. And at first the elder generals in command of the French armies obliged them with the sort of opposition that they wanted.[1] But the troops of the Jacobin Republic had been demoralized by the removal or desertion of the greater proportion of their commissioned officers, and their *cadres* had been hastily filled with half-trained recruits, while hundreds of new units formed on no old *cadre* at all, in which men and officers alike were little better than untrained civilians, took the field along with the reorganized remains of the old royal army. I need hardly

[1] There had been a fierce controversy in France, raging from 1775 to 1791, between the advocates of the Frederician, or linear, battle-order—headed by General Guibert—and those officers who wished to introduce a deeper formation, of whom the chief was General Ménil-Durand The former school triumphed for the moment, and the *Règlement d'Infanterie* of 1791 accepted all their views; it was on this drill-book that the French army stood to fight in the following year. For an analysis of the controversy see Dumoulin's *Précis* 49–53.

remind you of the series of disgraceful defeats which these raw and improvised hosts suffered at the hands of much inferior numbers of Austrian and other allied troops in 1792–3. They were completely beaten both in tactics, in manœuvring, and in fire-discipline by the well-trained old battalions to whom they were opposed. Demoralized by many disasters, they were continually raising the cry of treason against their generals, and their complaints were taken most seriously by the Paris government, which arrested and guillotined one after another a large proportion of the unfortunate commanders-in-chief to whom the first armies of the Republic had been entrusted. The principle at the back of the mind of the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety seems to have been that generals fighting with the axe above their heads would at least be resolute and enterprising, if defeat meant impeachment and death, they would be stimulated to desperate efforts to avoid it, and the famous 'representatives *en mission*' were sent to the head-quarters of every army to apply their personal stimulus to the unfortunate officers. As these energetic emissaries were for the most part as ignorant of military affairs as they were self-important and autocratic, the results of their first efforts were often to confuse and to drive to the verge of insanity the generals on whom they were inflicted.

One thing, however, the Jacobin government did accomplish: they pushed into the field reinforcements in such myriads that the armies of the allies were hopelessly outnumbered on every frontier. The first successes of the French armies in the North were won by brute force, by heaping double and triple numbers on to the enemy. And the new tactics of the revolutionary army were evolved from a consciousness of superiority in this respect, a determination to swamp troops that manœuvred better than themselves by hurling preponderant masses upon them, regardless of the loss that must necessarily be suffered. For they had inexhaustible reserves from the levy *en masse* behind them, while the bases of the allies were far off, and their trained men, when destroyed, could only be replaced slowly and with difficulty.

When the generals of the Revolution threw away the old linear tactics learned in the school of Frederick the Great, as inapplicable to troops that could not manœuvre with the same speed and accuracy as their enemies, the improvised system that succeeded was a simple and a wasteful one, but had the merit of permitting them to use their superiority of numbers. It consisted in throwing at the hostile front a very thick skirmishing line, which sheathed and concealed a row of columns of the heaviest sort. The idea was that the front

line of *tirailleurs* would so engage the enemy and keep him occupied, that the supporting columns would get up to striking distance with practically no loss, and could be hurled, while still intact, upon the hostile first line, which they would pierce by their mere impetus and weight, since they were only exposed to fire for a very few minutes, and could endure the loss suffered in that short time without losing their *élan* or their pace The essential part of this system was the enormously thick and powerful skirmishing line, whole battalions were dispersed in chains of *tirailleurs*, who frankly abandoned any attempt at ordered movement, took refuge behind cover of all sorts, and were so numerous that they could always drive in the very thin skirmishing line of the enemy, and get closely engaged with his whole front The orderly battalion fire of the Austrian or other allied troops opposed to them did comparatively little harm to these swarms, who were taking cover as much as possible, and presented no closed body or solid mark for the volleys poured at them. There is a very clear description of such a fight in Ditfurth's narrative of the battle of Hondeschoote, where Walmoden's Hanoverians, covering the Duke of York's flank, fought for four hours against a swarm of *tirailleurs*, who always gave way and took refuge in hedges or buildings when attacked by the bayonet, but always came back to molest the defensive line opposed to them, till after clearing their front eleven times, the Hanoverians had to give way in the end, because their original three-deep line had simply been shot to pieces, and about a third of their men had fallen. It looks as if the proper remedy against such a swarm-attack would have been local and partial cavalry charges, made by isolated squadrons in support of the attacked infantry line, for nothing could have been more vulnerable to a sudden cavalry charge than a disorderly chain of light troops. On many occasions in the campaigns of 1792-3 the French infantry had shown itself very helpless against horsemen, when it had been caught in circumstances where it could not form square But this particular remedy against the swarm-attack does not seem to have been tried on the crucial occasions, and many parts of Flanders are so cut up with small enclosures that the use of cavalry as a general remedy might have often proved difficult. The masses which supported the *tirailleurs* were formed either in columns of companies or columns of divisions. In the former case the eight companies,[1] three deep, stood one behind the other, with a total depth of twenty-four men. In the latter the front of the battalion was formed by

[1] There were nine companies to a battalion, but the *voltigeur* company would normally not be in the mass.

a 'division', i. e. two companies, so that the depth was only twelve In either case none but the two front men of the line, i.e. of the leading company or division, could use their firearms, and the rest were useless save for the impetus which they gave to the rolling mass. But such a column, when properly sheathed by the skirmishing line till the last moment, generally came with a very effective rush against the heavily engaged, and often already depleted, line of allied troops opposed to it. It is equally clear that *without* its screen of *tirailleurs* it would have been a very clumsy and expensive instrument of war, since it combined the minimum of shooting power with the maximum of vulnerability. But fortunately for the generals of the French Republic, they had to meet with elderly officers of the eighteenth century school, who clung to the idea of covering every point, and habitually extended their armies over fronts of such an exaggerated length that the line was generally very thin. An enemy who attacked with heavy masses at a decisive spot, while leaving the rest of the hostile line 'contained' by an adequate force, had a fair chance of penetrating, though the process of penetration might be costly to the troops forming the head of the column.

The best early summary of this change of tactics which I have seen occurs in an anonymous English pamphlet published in 1802, which puts the matter in a nutshell. 'The French army was composed of troops of the line without order, and of raw and inexperienced volunteers They experienced defeats in the beginning, but war in the meantime was forming both officers and soldiers In an open country they took to forming their armies in columns instead of lines, which they could not preserve without difficulty. They reduced battles to attacks on certain points, where brigade succeeded brigade, and fresh troops supplied the place of those who were driven back, till they were enabled to force the post, and make the enemy give way. They were fully aware that they could not give battle in regular order, and sought to reduce engagements to important affairs of posts: this plan has succeeded. They look upon losses as nothing provided they succeed in the end; they set little value on their men because they have the certainty of being able to replace them, and the customary superiority of their numbers affords them an advantage which can only be counterbalanced by great skill, conduct, and activity.' [1]

After 1794, when the Republican armies had won their first series of great successes, and had driven their enemies behind their own

[1] From the anonymous 'Character of the Armies of the various European Powers in 1802'.

frontiers, there is a distinct change in the tactical conceptions of the French armies. The troops had improved immensely in morale and self-confidence, a new race of generals had appeared, who were neither obsessed by reminiscences of the system of Frederick, like some of their predecessors, nor spurred to blind violence by the fear of the impending axe, as others had been. This race of capable self-made men soon learnt how to modify the brutal and unscientific methods of the Jacobin armies of 1793–4, which had won victory indeed, but only by the force of numbers and at heavy cost. There remained as a permanent lesson from the earlier campaigns two principles—the avoidance of dispersion, by which armies 'cover everything and protect nothing', and the necessity of striking at crucial points rather than delivering 'linear' battles fought with equal intensity along the whole front. In general French tactics became very supple, the units manœuvred with a freedom which had been unknown to the earlier generation. The divisional organization, now always employed, gave to the whole army a power of independent movement unknown in days when a line of battle was considered as a rigid thing, formed of brigades elbow-to-elbow, none of which ought to move without the direct orders of the general-in-chief. We find the French operating, as the years wore on, often with inferior numbers instead of with the brute force of a heavy numerical superiority. They won by intelligent strategy rather than by headlong impetus, by brilliant manœuvring rather than by mere bludgeon work. Yet, oddly enough, there was no formal revision of official tactics. the *Règlement d'Infanterie*, which had been drawn up as early as 1791, was never recast, though many generals criticized it It survived the whole of the wars of the Empire, and was not finally abolished till early in the reign of Louis-Philippe. This is all the more strange because that compilation was singularly deficient in the section dealing with skirmishing and the use of light troops. It had the three-deep Frederician line, and the column of companies or divisions, as its base, and knew nothing of the attack by dense swarms of *tirailleurs* which had been the salvation of France in 1793–4. It is certainly remarkable that Napoleon, during all his years of domination as Consul and Emperor, never issued a new general drill-book, but made the old one suffice. But, as we shall have occasion to state in another place, it was in major rather than in minor tactics that he excelled. When he had placed the requisite number of troops in the requisite position, he left the details of the actual stroke to his subordinates, without troubling too much as to whether a battalion advanced in column of companies or in column of divisions, or whether an army corps drew up its units in two or in three lines. It is not too

much to say that from the point of view of minor tactics some of Napoleon's battles were very badly fought—Marengo and Waterloo, his most brilliant victory and his last crushing defeat, illustrate this point clearly enough. Formations and movements were sometimes made under his eye which would have made Frederick the Great foam with rage. But in major tactics he was almost infallible, and usually the troops, being placed in the right position, discharged their duty, even though blunders of detail sometimes made their success very costly. If the Emperor had any favourite infantry formation it was the *ordre mixte* recommended by Guibert, far back before his own day,[1] in which a certain combination of the advantages of line and column was obtained, by drawing up the brigade or regiment with alternate battalions in line three deep and in column, with a column always at each outer end, so as to give security against sudden flank attacks by cavalry. This gave a fair amount of frontal fire from the deployed battalions, combined with solidity secured by the columns interspersed among them If, for example, a regiment of three battalions of 900 men each was drawn up in the *ordre mixte*, with one deployed battalion flanked by two battalions in column, it had about 730 men in the firing line, while if arrayed in three columns it would only have had about 200 able to use their muskets freely. Still at the best this formation was very heavy, when we reflect on all the serried back-ranks of the flanking battalions, with no power to join in the fusillade for simple fire-effect it was as inferior to the line as it was superior to the mere column. Nor was it always employed by the imperial armies. at the striking-point of a battle-field, when the Emperor designed to deliver his decisive blow, he often used the pure columnar formation, covering the front of the mass which was to make the thrust by a skirmishing line, and if possible supporting it by a heavy artillery fire from the flank. He was quite aware of the weak point of the column, its inadequate fire-force: 'Même en plaine,' he observed in his celebrated interview with Foy, which the latter preserved with such photographic accuracy, 'les colonnes n'enfoncent les lignes qu'autant qu'elles sont appuyées par le feu d'une artillerie très supérieure, qui prépare l'attaque.'[2] And his attacks with columns were habitually preceded by a crushing artillery fire at the point which he was about to assail, a fire which he himself, as an old artillery officer, knew how to direct with the greatest accuracy and efficiency. It seems that he relied much more on such preparation by concen-

[1] See Colin's *Éducation Militaire de Napoléon*, lxxv, &c. He seems to have used this formation first at the passage of the Tagliamento in 1797.

[2] Foy's *Vie Militaire*, ed Girod de l'Ain, p 107.

trated batteries for the shielding of his columns than on the sheathing of them by a thick skirmishing line, the old device of the generals of the Republic An enemy's firing line might be occupied and demoralized by a heavy artillery attack, while the assailing force was drawing near, as well as by a screen of skirmishers There seem to have been cases, even in his earlier battles, where the light-infantry screen in front of the column that was to make the stroke was practically non-existent. French generals in the imperial campaigns appear habitually to have used for the skirmishing line no more than the *voltigeur* company of each battalion, a force making one-ninth of the whole unit when the battalion was at its original strength of nine companies, though somewhat greater in proportion after the number of companies was cut down from nine to six after 1808. I do not remember any case in the Peninsular battles where whole battalions were broken up into skirmishers, and thrown forward ahead of the striking mass, as had been common in 1793 or 1794 Nor do I think that it occurred often, if ever, in any of the imperial battles In fact, it would seem that Napoleon preferred the *ordre mixte*, the alternation of battalions in line and battalions in column, in those parts of the field where he was wishing to 'contain' the enemy and to hold him in check, while pure columns, whose way was prepared rather by artillery fire than by a thick skirmishing line, were used at the decisive points, where the penetration of the hostile line was intended to take place. If I remember aright, Davoust's 'refused' wing at Austerlitz, Mortier's 'refused' wing at Friedland, fought in the *ordre mixte*, as did Lobau and the 6th Corps at Waterloo in all these cases the corps named were intended to occupy the enemy in front of them, and to fight a defensive or 'containing' battle, while the decision was made by a great attack in column on another section of the field. But apparently Lannes at Jéna and Victor at Friedland, who were real 'striking units', also used this formation in attack. Indeed, the Emperor recommends it as a general device in a dispatch addressed to Soult before Austerlitz,[1] to be used 'autant que faire se pourra'. It is interesting to note that, less than a week after, Marshal, having to strike the main blow in the great battle, did not use the plan at all, but fought throughout his attack with his battalions in columns of divisions, as he particularly mentions in his report to the Emperor.[2] Whatever may have been the Emperor's theoretical preference for the *ordre mixte*, his most celebrated battle-strokes

[1] Napoleon to Soult, Nov. 26, 1805, Correspondence, 9527.

[2] See Dumoulin's *Précis d'Histoire Militaire*, x. 263, and Colin, *Tactique et Discipline*, lxxxv.

seem frequently to have been made by very gross and heavy masses. The worst instances, Macdonald's column at Wagram [1] and D'Erlon's first disposition at Waterloo, both perfectly monstrous formations in the way of depth, were perhaps not authorized by the Emperor, but it is clear that in many other cases the advance in solid undeployed masses was permitted or approved by him. The *ordre mixte* was only a 'counsel of perfection'.

Having described, perhaps in too much detail, the tactical development of the French system from 1792 to 1808, it remains to inquire what English observers had made of it. The first reflections published on the new type of war upon this side of the Channel seem to have been mainly inspired by the experiences of the Duke of York's army in 1793–4, when the thick chains of *tirailleurs*, which formed the front line of the French array, did so much damage to troops which fought them in the old three-deep order, without any sufficient counter-provision of skirmishers. We find ere long complaints that the British forces had no sufficient provision of light troops, that the one light company per battalion was wholly insufficient to keep off a French attack from pressing close up to the main line, and doing damage to it before the real struggle had begun. Two remedies were proposed. The first was that the proportion of light companies to a battalion should be increased from one to two,[2] or that in each company of the regiment a certain proportion of men should be selected for good marksmanship and taught light-infantry duty, while remaining attached to their companies. Of these two propositions the first was never tried, but the second was actually practised by certain colonels, who trained fifteen or twenty men per company as skirmishers: these were called 'flankers'. The only British battle where I find them specially mentioned, however, is Maida, and their mention here points out the danger of the system. Generals wanting more light troops habitually purloined the light companies of battalions to make separate 'light battalions', but not only did they do this, but sometimes they even stole the 'flankers' also from the centre companies. In Stuart's force that fought at Maida were present not only the light companies, but also the 'flankers' of regiments left behind in Sicily, which had therefore been deprived of every single marksman that they possessed—an execrable device. The system was only tentative, however, and soon disappeared.

[1] In which eight battalions of Lamarque's division marched directly behind each other!

[2] Sir James Sinclair, in his 'Observations on the Military System of Great Britain so far as respects the formation of Infantry', deals with this at length, and proposes to have 160 skirmishers to each battalion of 640 men.

But there was a second alternative course open to the British instead of developing more skirmishers in each battalion, they might create new light-infantry corps, or turn whole units of the line into light troops Both of these devices were tried. there were old precedents for the first in the War of the American Rebellion, where the British generals had, of necessity, embodied corps of riflemen to oppose to the deadly marksmen from the backwoods who formed the most efficient part of an American army But all these Rangers, &c., had been disbanded after 1783, and the system had to begin *de novo.* It does not seem to have been set going till very late; it was not till 1798 that the first British Rifle battalion was created, to wit the 5th battalion of the 60th or Royal Americans, which was formed as a *Jager* unit out of the remnants of many defunct foreign light corps in the British pay, and remained largely German in composition for many years after This was the first green-coated battalion; the second was Coote Manningham's 'Experimental Rifle Corps' formed in January, 1800, and finally taken into the service, after some vicissitudes, as the 95th, a name famous in Peninsular annals, though now almost forgotten under the newer title of the 'Rifle Brigade'. The regiment was enlarged to three battalions before it came under Wellington's hands. Later on, though the number of rifle corps was not increased, yet an addition was made to the light troops of the British army by turning certain picked battalions into Light Infantry. They were armed with a special musket of light weight, not a rifle, and all the companies equally were instructed in skirmishing work. There were also some changes made in their uniform—the officers in some corps were given pelisses similar to those worn by hussars—surely a very uncomfortable and encumbering garment for men who were supposed to be specially intended for wood and hedgerow fighting! The first corps so treated was the 90th or Perthshire Volunteers, which received the title of a Light Infantry regiment in 1794 The precedent, however, was not acted upon again till the 43rd and 52nd, the famous regiments of the Peninsular Light Division, were made Light Infantry in 1803. The last additions during the period of the Napoleonic wars were the 68th and 85th in 1808, and the 51st and 71st in 1809. Most of these corps had two battalions, but even so the provision of light infantry was very small for an army which at that time had nearly 200 battalions embodied. There were also some foreign corps, however, to be taken into consideration, which stood on the British muster-rolls, viz. the two Light battalions of the King's German Legion, the Brunswick-Oels Jagers, and the Chasseurs Britanniques. But all these save

the last were created after 1805. Yet, at least during the second period of the great French war, our armies were not practically destitute of light troops, as they had been in 1793-4, and we shall see that this had no small importance in Wellington's tactical devices

The other lesson that might conceivably have been deduced from the campaigns of those years was the efficacy of columns for striking at the critical points of an enemy's line The continental enemies of the French were affected by what they had seen of this sort of success, and often copied the formation of their adversaries. But it is notable that the old and wholesome prejudice of the British in favour of the line was not in any way disturbed by what had happened of late. The idea that the column was clumsy and expensive was not in the least shaken, and the theory that infantry ought to win by the rapidity and accuracy of its shooting, and that every musket not in the firing line was wasted, continued to prevail. The reply of the British to the French *ordre mixte* was to reduce the depth of the deployed battalion from three ranks to two, because it had been discovered that the fire of the third rank was difficult, dangerous to those in front, and practically ineffective. I cannot discover what was the first important engagement in which the two-deep line was employed, but it was certainly in common use during the Egyptian campaign of 1801, and an ordinance of that year made it the normal formation for British infantry, 'even for reviews'.[1] Hitherto the three-rank Prussian order, stereotyped in David Dundas's drill-book of 1788, had been the official array of the battalion. British military opinion, therefore, had decided that the lesson of the late campaigns was that fire was everything, and that the correct answer to the columnar attack was to put more men into the firing line.

It cannot be said that the efficiency of the two-deep line against the column was publicly demonstrated, by a crucial experiment of the most conclusive sort, till three years after the commencement of the second half of the great French war. But for all those who were present, or who received the report of an intelligent eye-witness, the little-remembered Calabrian battle of Maida was an epoch-making day in British military history. On the sandy plain by the Amato 5,000 infantry in line received the shock of 6,000 in column, and inflicted on them one of the most crushing defeats on a small scale that took place during the whole war, disabling or taking 2,000 men, with a total loss to themselves of only 320[2] The troops and the

[1] See Fortescue, iv. 921

[2] For a detailed account of the battle of Maida and its tactical meaning, see my article in the *Journal of the Royal Artillery Institution* for 1908

order of battle won the victory, for the commander, Stuart, was an incapable officer, whose personality had no influence on the fight, and who sacrificed all the fruits of his success by his torpidity. But the moral was unmistakable on the critical point of the field four battalions[1] of the best troops of the old French army of Italy, in column of divisions, had been met in frontal shock and blown to pieces by three British battalions in two-deep line. The event had never been for a moment doubtful the losses of the vanquished had been fearful, those of the victors trifling.[2] It is worth while remembering that some of the officers who were afterwards to be Wellington's most trusted lieutenants were present at Maida, and understood its meaning, among them Cole, who later commanded the Peninsular 4th Division, the brigadiers Kempt and Oswald, and Colborne the famous colonel of the 52nd Light Infantry.

Sir Arthur Wellesley himself was, of course, far away from Calabria in July, 1806, he had returned from India, after an absence of nine years from England, only in the preceding autumn But the tale of Maida only confirmed him in conclusions that he had drawn long before. Before he left Calcutta he is said to have remarked to his confidants that the French were sweeping everything before them in Europe by the use of the formation in column, but that he was fully convinced that the column could, and would, be beaten by the line. It was two years before he himself got the chance of making the great experiment, but he sailed for Portugal in the summer of 1808 with the idea in his head. A conversation which he held with Croker just before his departure chances to have been preserved in the latter's diary, under the date June 14, 1808 After a long reverie he was asked the subject of his thoughts. 'To say the truth,' he replied, 'I am thinking of the French I am going to fight. I have not seen them since the campaign in Flanders (1794–5), when they were capital soldiers, and a dozen years of victory under Bonaparte must have made them better still. 'Tis enough to make one thoughtful. But though they may overwhelm me, I don't think they will out-manœuvre me. First, because I am not afraid of them, as every one else seems to be, and secondly because, if all I hear about their system is true, I think it a false one against steady troops. I suspect, all the continental armies are half-beaten before the battle begins. I at least will not be frightened beforehand.'

Wellesley went out to Portugal to see what could be done with

[1] 2,800 men of the 1st *Léger* and 42nd *Ligne*, opposed to 2,100 of Kempt's light battalion and Acland's 78th and 81st

[2] The four French battalions lost 1,080 men, the three British only 220.

perfectly steady troops, as he said, against the 'new French system'. But it would be to convey a false impression of his meaning if we were to state that he went out simply to beat the column with the line, though the essential fact is sufficiently true. He went out to try his own conception of the proper way to use the line formation, which had its peculiarities and its limitations. The chief of these were that (1) the line must not be exposed before the moment of actual conflict, (2) that till that moment it must be screened by a line of skirmishers impenetrable to the enemy's *tirailleurs*; (3) that it must be properly covered on its flanks, either by the nature of the ground or by cavalry and artillery. When we investigate all his earlier pitched battles, we shall see that each of these three requisites was carefully secured.

1. It was necessary for success that the line should be kept concealed from the enemy's distant fire, of infantry or of artillery, as long as was possible. Hence we find that one of the most marked characteristics of Wellesley's battles was that he took up, whenever it was feasible, a position in which he could mask his main line, and show nothing to the adversary but his skirmishers and possibly his artillery, for the latter, having to operate before the infantry fighting began, and having to take up commanding positions, were very generally visible from the first. At Vimiero he so concealed his army that Junot, thinking to turn his flank, merely ran into his left wing with the turning column. At Bussaco Masséna, no mean general, mistook his right centre for his extreme right, and was outflanked the moment that his attack was well pronounced. At Salamanca it was much the same, Pakenham's division and its attendant cavalry, concealed in a wood, were far outside the French marching column that vainly thought that it had got round the British right wing. At Waterloo the main line of infantry was practically invisible to the enemy till they had climbed the slope above which it stood. Wellington's ideal position was a *glacis* of rising ground with a plateau or a dip above it. The infantry were drawn back from the skyline, and placed just behind the crest, if the hill was saddle-backed, or some hundreds of yards from the edge if it was a flat-topped plateau. There they stood or lay, till they were wanted, screened from all artillery fire; they advanced to their fighting ground only when the fire-combat of infantry was to begin. Every one will remember Wellington's caustic comment on the Prussian order of battle at Ligny, where Blucher had drawn out his army all along the declivity of a descending slope. 'Damnably mauled

these fellows will be—every man visible to the enemy!'[1] By the end of the Peninsular War it had become so well known to the enemy that Wellington's army would be under cover, that he was able to play off on them the trick of offering battle in a half-manned position, because he knew that they would take it for granted that the ground invisible to them held ample forces. The mere fact that Wellington appeared ready to fight convinced Soult on the first day of Sorauren that the whole British army was up, whereas the British general was merely 'bluffing', making an appearance of calm readiness to fight when he would have had to retreat if only he had been seriously attacked. Two years later the same conviction that Wellington's forces might be hidden behind any wood or slope kept Reille halted for certain fatal hours in front of Quatre Bras, where there was nothing really opposed to him beyond one Dutch-Belgian division. 'Ce pourrait bien être une bataille d'Espagne, les troupes anglaises se montreraient quand il en serait temps'[2] were the words of this corps commander, who had so many old Peninsular lessons on his brain.

It was only when absolute necessity compelled, owing to no cover being available in some parts of the line, that Wellington occasionally left troops in his battle-front visible to the enemy, and exposed to distant artillery fire. The best known instance of this was the case of his centre brigades at Talavera, which were unmasked perforce, because between the strong hill which protected his left and the olive groves which covered his right, there were many hundred yards of open ground, without even a serviceable dip or undulation in which the line could be concealed. And this was almost the only battle in which we find record of his troops having suffered heavily by artillery fire before the clash of conflict began.

2. The second postulate of Wellington's system, as I have remarked above, was that his battle-line must be covered by such a powerful screen of skirmishers that the enemy's advanced line of *tirailleurs* should never be able to draw near enough to it to cause any real molestation, and that it should not be seriously engaged before the French supporting columns came up to the attack. His old ex-

[1] See Stanhope's *Conversations with Wellington*, p. 109, for this verdict, at great length. But in more solemn phrase, Wellington says:—'I told the Prussian officers, in the presence of Colonel Hardinge, that, according to my judgement, the exposure of the advanced columns, and indeed of the army, to cannonade, standing as they did displayed to the aim of the enemy's fire, was not prudent.' *De Ros Manuscript*, quoted in Maxwell's *Life of Wellington*, ii. p. 20.

[2] Foy's *Vie Militaire*, ed. Girod de l'Ain, pp. 270–71.

periences in Flanders in 1794 had taught him that the line cannot contend at advantage with a preponderant mass of light troops, which yield when charged, but return the moment that the charge is stopped. The device which he had thought out, to provide against this danger, was that he would always make his own skirmishing screen stronger than that of the enemy, so that the French *tirailleurs* should never be able to force it in. The moment that he assumed command of the Peninsular army, in April, 1809, he set to work to secure this desideratum. His plan was to add to every brigade in his army an extra company of trained riflemen, to reinforce the three light companies of the brigade, and to each division, when the composite Anglo-Portuguese divisions were formed in 1810, a whole battalion of Portuguese *caçadores*, or light infantry. In April, 1809, he broke up the oldest rifle battalion in the British Army, the 5th of the 60th regiment, and began to distribute a company of it to each of his brigades, save to those of the King's German Legion, which had separate rifle companies of their own. Next year, when he incorporated a Portuguese brigade of five battalions in nearly all his divisions, he took care to have a *caçador* battalion among the five, and this was always used in the divisional skirmishing line. The result of this arrangement was that if an Anglo-Portuguese division of the normal strength of two British and one Portuguese brigade, or eleven battalions in all, set itself out in battle array, it had no less than eighteen light companies to send forward into its skirmishing line—one each from ten line battalions, two of British rifles, six of *caçadores*. A French division of a similar strength of eleven battalions, put in front of the British line, would undoubtedly send out only its eleven *voltigeur* companies to form the covering screen for its supporting line of columns. Not unnaturally, as Wellington had calculated, the skirmishing line of the allies invariably contained and kept back the inferior skirmishing line of the enemy, and was never driven in till the French brought up their supporting columns into the fighting front, when of course the allied light troops had to retire on to the line in their rear. But the columns, having got up to the front and become engaged, had then to take the lead, and to go on to fight the hitherto intact British main line. In short, Wellington made his light-infantry screen so thick and strong that he habitually 'smothered' the French *tirailleurs*, and forced the hostile column to commit itself to the main fight without any protective sheathing. So strong was the British skirmishing screen that French contemporary diarists often mistook it for a front line, and speak of their columns as piercing and driving back the first line of their

adversaries, when really all that they had done was to drive in a powerful and obstinate chain of light troops[1] Invariably, we may say, the French had to attack the two-deep line when the latter was intact, while their own column had already been under fire for some time, and, if not shaken, were at least no longer fresh. It will be asked why the marshals and generals of Napoleon did not deploy their columns before the moment of contact. The answer to this objection is, firstly, that they were strongly convinced that the column was the proper striking force to carry a given point, and they normally attacked not the whole British line simultaneously, but the particular section or sections where they intended to break through. But, secondly, that they sometimes *did* attempt to deploy, but always too late, since they waited till they had driven in the British skirmishing line, and tried to assume the thinner formation when they were already under fire and heavily engaged. I have come on several narratives dealing with attempts to deploy on the part of a French brigade or regiment which had forced its way to the front, and on every occasion it only led to confusion. When the Fusilier Brigade fought Werle's nine battalions at Albuera, an English witness[2] remarks that 'during the close action I saw their officers endeavouring to deploy their columns, but all to no purpose. For as soon as the third of a company got out they would immediately run back in order to be covered by the front of their column.' Similarly Merle on the hill-top at Bussaco tried to deploy when he was already under the fire of Picton's line, and failed with disastrous results. The French, in short, could not deploy, because they were destitute by this time of their protective sheath of light troops, which (as Wellington had devised) had always been crushed in by the superior English skirmishing line. Nothing could be more inevitably productive of confusion and disorder than an attempt to deploy under heavy fire Wherefore, many of the French commanders never tried to do so at all, and thought it more safe to go on to the final shock with the battalions massed in their original formation of column of companies or column of divisions.

3. We now come to the third postulate of Wellington's system—the two-deep fighting line must be covered on its flanks, either by the

[1] Note especially Vigo-Roussillon's account of Barrosa, where he speaks of his regiment as having pierced the 'first British line', when all that they had done was to thrust back four companies of the 95th Rifles, and two light companies of the 20th Portuguese. Similarly Reynier's report on Bussaco says that Merle's division drove back Picton's front line, and only failed before his second. But this 'front line' was only five light companies.

[2] Blakeney of the 7th Fusiliers.

ground, or by cavalry and artillery support, or by infantry prolonging the front beyond the enemy's immediate point of action. At Vimiero Wellesley had got his left wing so cleverly concealed that the French attempt to turn him was itself outflanked At Talavera one of his wings was covered by a precipitous hill, the other by thick olive plantations. At Bussaco both the French attacks were hopelessly outflanked on each side, so that they could only operate frontally. At Salamanca the 3rd Division, the striking force which won the battle, had its line covered on its outward flank by an English and a Portuguese brigade of cavalry. At Vittoria the whole French army was enveloped by the concentric and converging attack of the much longer British line. Only once, as far as I know, did the French get on to the flank of Wellington's fighting line, and cause him trouble. This was at Fuentes de Oñoro, where the 7th Division suffered some loss by being taken in rear by outlying French cavalry, and only escaped worse disaster because one battalion (the Chasseurs Britanniques) had time to adapt itself to the situation, and because a few British squadrons sacrificed themselves in stopping the enemy's superior horse. But there was one instance during the war which demonstrates clearly the terrible risk that the line might run if it was not properly protected. At Albuera Colborne's brigade of the 2nd Division was thrown into action with its flank absolutely bare—there was no support within half a mile—by the recklessness of its divisional general, William Stewart. It was caught in flank by two regiments of French light cavalry, and absolutely cut to pieces, with a loss of 1,200 men out of 1,600 present. Wellington would never have sent it forward without the proper support for its wings, and it is noteworthy that, later in that same day, Cole took the 4th Division into action on the same hill and against the same enemy, with perfect success, because he had guarded one flank with a battalion in square, and the other, the outer and more exposed one, with a second square and a brigade of cavalry.

These then were the necessary postulates required for the successful use of line against column, and when they were duly borne in mind victory was secure with any reasonable balance of numbers. The essential fact that lay below the oft-observed conclusion was simply that the two-deep line enabled a force to use every musket with effect, while the 'column of divisions' put seven-ninths of the men forming it in a position where they could not shoot at all, and even the *ordre mixte* praised by Napoleon placed from seven-twelfths to two-thirds[1] of the rank and file in that same unhappy condition.

[1] If the *ordre mixte* was formed by a regiment of three battalions of 600 men each, only 644 out of 1,800 men were in the front two ranks. If by a regiment of

But Albuera is the only fight in the war in which I have definite proof that the enemy fought in the *ordre mixte*, with deployed battalions and battalions in column alternately ranged in his front. Usually he came on in columns of divisions to the critical moment, and not unfrequently he had battalion behind battalion in each regiment. It was a gross order of fighting, but d'Erlon invented a worse and more clumsy formation at Waterloo, where he sent forward whole divisions with eight or nine battalions deployed one behind the other, so as to produce a front of 200 men and a depth of twenty-four—with only one man in twelve able to use his musket![1]

Normally, however, the column of divisions (double-companies) was the French order, i. e. a battalion of 600 men in six companies had a front of 66 muskets, and 132 men in all able to fire, while 468 were in the rear ranks, able to be shot but not to shoot. If an English battalion of equal strength lay in front, in its two-deep line, it gave a discharge of 600 muskets against one of 132; and this was not all. Its front was four times that of the French battalion, so that its fire lapped round the flanks of the advancing mass, and struck men in the rear ranks, demoralizing them because they had no power to reply. Often the British line, during the moments of fire-combat, threw forward its wings in a converging half-moon, and blazed into three sides of the column at once. This was done with great effect by the 43rd and 52nd at Bussaco against the French brigade (that of Simon) which came up the slope in front of them, battalion behind battalion, in the most vulnerable array.[1] How could it be expected that the unhappy column could prevail? Effective against an enemy who allowed himself to be cowed and beaten by the sight of the formidable advancing mass, it was helpless against steady troops, who stood their ground, and emptied their muskets, as fast as they could load, into a mark which it was impossible to miss.

But this is the mere physical aspect of such a combat. What was its moral aspect? Fortunately we can explain it with accuracy, because among the many French officers who went through the Peninsular War, one has left us, not confused impressions or personal anecdotes, like so many of his fellows, but a philosophical account of the mental state of a battalion going forward in column to the attack. I make no excuse for quoting in full the paragraphs of Bugeaud—a *chef de bataillon* in 1812, a marshal of great African fame twenty years later—because they give us exactly what we want to know. It

[1] four battalions—two deployed, two in column on the flanks—the slightly better result of 1,044 men out of 2,400 able to use their muskets would result

[1] See notes on this in my *Peninsular War*, vol. iii. p. 381

should be premised, however, that Bugeaud did not serve in the army of Portugal, or face Wellington's own troops. He formed a unit in Suchet's Catalonian army, and his personal experiences took place at Castalla, and other fights on the eastern side of the Peninsula. This, no doubt, accounts for there being no account of skirmishing encounter before the main clash of battle

'The English generally occupied well-chosen defensive positions, with a certain amount of undulations, in which they would show only a part of their force. The usual obligatory cannonade began the battle. Then, in haste, without studying the ground, without taking time to reconnoitre routes by which we might have tried lateral or turning movements, we used to march straight at the enemy, taking, as they say, "the bull by the horns."[1]

'When we got about a thousand yards from the English line the men would begin to get anxious, took to exchanging ideas with each other, and hurried the march, which already was growing a little disorderly. The English, quite silent, with grounded arms, looked, in their impassive immobility, much like a long brick wall, their aspect was imposing, and never failed to impress young soldiers.

'Soon, as the distances began to get shorter, frequent cries of *Vive l'Empereur, en avant, à la baionnette*, began to be heard· some men hoisted their shakos on their muskets, the quick-step became a run, the ranks tended to melt into each other, the agitation became tumultuous, many soldiers began to fire as they ran. The English line, still silent and unmoved, with grounded arms, even when we were only three hundred yards away, seemed to take no notice of the storm which was about to beat upon it.

'The contrast was very striking. Many of us began to reflect that the enemy was very slow at starting his fire, and calculated that the fire, so long held back, would be very unpleasant when it did commence. Our ardour was growing cold. The moral influence (irresistible in war) of a calm which *seems* undisturbed (even if it be not really so) as opposed to disorder which intoxicates itself by vain noise, weighed on our souls.

'At this moment of painful expectation the English line made a quarter turn—the muskets were going up to the "ready" An indefinable sensation stopped many of our men dead. they halted and began a wavering fire. The enemy's return, delivered with simultaneous precision, absolutely blasted us. Decimated by it, we reeled together, trying to recover our equilibrium. Then three formidable hurrahs! terminated the long silence of our adversaries.

[1] An expression actually used by a French Marshal at Bussaco.

At the third they were upon us, pressing us into a disorderly retreat. But, to our surprise, they did not push their advantage for more than some hundred yards, and went back with calm to their former position in their line, to wait our next attack. We rarely failed to deliver it, when our reinforcements came up, under the same conditions, and, all too often, with the same want of success, and new losses.'[1]

This is the picture that we need to complete our study of the conflict of line with column. The psychology of the huddled mass going forward to inevitable defeat could not be better portrayed. All honour then to the French troops, who, with five years of such experience behind them, were still courageous enough to put up a good fight even in 1813-14, and contended as sternly for the mastery in their last offensive battles in the Pyrenees as in the defensive actions of Orthez and Toulouse. They never abandoned the forlorn hope that they might for once catch Wellington on his unlucky day, and showed themselves as gallant, if not as hopeful and enterprising, enemies as they had been at the first, even when the war had rolled consistently northward year after year, and had left them waging an ever-disastrous struggle within their own borders.

[1] This description by Bugeaud was reprinted by Colonel Trochu in his *Armée française en 1867*, pp. 239-40

SUMMARY

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LATER IRISH EPIC (THE CYCLE OF FINN AND OSSIAN)

By W RIDGEWAY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read April 26, 1910

THE Irish epics fall into two great cycles (1) the oldest, which centres round the great names of Conchobar, Cuchulainn, and Queen Medhbh, and (2) the later, in which the chief personages are Finn MacCumhall, his son Ossian, and Cailte. He had in a paper read five years previously before the Academy, and published in its *Proceedings*, discussed the date and culture of the oldest cycle. The earliest of these sagas is laid about the first century B C. The Irish annals mention Irish invaders from Gaul in the third or second century B.C. Previously it had been held by scholars that the earliest of these poems did not date earlier than the fifth century A.D., but by instituting comparisons between certain objects found in Ireland, shields, swords, leaf-shaped brooches, &c., he had been able to prove the existence in Ireland of a culture identical with the La Tène or 'Late Celtic' culture, found in Gaul (as also in Britain) from 400 B.C. down to Caesar's conquest, and by comparing these objects with the armature, dress, &c., in the 'Tain Bo Cualgne', he had shown that the culture in the oldest poems was the La Tène. That was dead in Gaul by A.D. 1, and in Britain by A D. 100. But as the poet of the 'Tain' must have known the La Tène brooches, of which only two of leaf-shaped form have been found in Ireland, the poem must have taken its shape in the first century A.D. This view has since been followed by leading Celtists in France and Germany.

In the second century A.D. there was a great change in Ireland. A new element now makes its appearance in the shape of the Fiana, whose domination, according to the tradition, extended from about A.D. 150 to A.D 300. In the end of the third century they had been overthrown and broken in three great battles. The greatest of the chiefs of the Fiana was Finn MacCumhall, who was killed as an old man in A.D. 283. He was married to the daughter of Cormac

Mac Arth, the great king of Meath who lies buried in Rosnarig, near the Boyne.

In the oldest epic the warriors all fight from chariots, and there are no riders on horseback, but in the later cycle not only are horses hardly used at all, but when they are, they are ridden. Finn and his men do not use chariots, but regularly march on foot. This of itself is enough to differentiate the two cycles, but there are many other differences. The Fiana had a helmet and a round shield, and carried a spear, suitable for throwing (their principal method of fighting) and also for use at close quarters, in other words, it was like the German *framea*. This spear is often described as decorated with gold rings or gold rivets This is not merely poetic imagination, for Professor Ridgeway exhibited a slide of such a spear with gold rings found not long since in Ireland.

There are two views respecting the Finn cycle. (*a*) Some regard these poems as a mere continuation of the older epic, but this ignores the essential difference in culture and armature between the two cycles. If it is said that in the later period the poets dropped all the armature, &c., that was not then in use, this admits that a great change in the armature, &c., had taken place, and that consequently in the poems we have a faithful reflection of an actual culture in use when the Finn poems were produced. (*b*) As the manuscripts at earliest date from the tenth and eleventh centuries, other scholars regard the weapons, &c, described in the Finn sagas as those of the Danes, who at that period occupied Dublin and other parts of Ireland. But the armature of the Danes is absolutely distinct from that described in the poems about the Fiana. The Danes fought with great battle-axes or bills, such as those familiar in the Norse sagas, with swords of a well-known type, and wore brooches in the shape of a tortoise, perfectly distinct from the ring-brooches of the Fiana and the leaf-shaped brooches of the 'Tain Bo Cualgne'. Slides of Danish objects, all found in the Danish quarter of Dublin, were exhibited.

The historical character of the culture of the Finn poems is proved by the 'Book of Rights', a unique work containing not only all the tributes and customary gifts due to chiefs and kings, and from kings to their principal sub-chiefs, but even the taboos of the Irish kings. The work thus goes back to pagan times It was first written in the Psalter of Cashel, and was finally revised by Cormac, King-Bishop of Cashel (A D. 901-13). The culture of the Finn poems can be paralleled in every particular from the objects given as tribute or presents between the fifth century and A. D. 900. From this it follows that the Finn sagas, though now often in a later language, are not

poems composed for the first time at a late period, not mere *chansons de geste* (such as the 'Nibelungenlied'), but represent a real culture and a condition of things that once existed in Ireland, just as did that represented in the oldest Irish cycle. The Fiana were powerful not only in Ireland, but also in Scotland. They would appear to have been some large-limbed fair people, such as Angles or Saxons, who at the very time when the Fiana were dominant in Ireland and parts of Scotland were harrying the coasts of Britain, and very probably of Ireland. Professor Ridgeway argued that the Finn Gall ('White Strangers'), mentioned in the 'Book of Rights' as living near Dublin, were not Danes, as commonly held, but folk settled there long before the Danes came. This is assumed by the 'Book of Rights', which also represents them as paying a very heavy tribute to the King of Leinster, which no Danes were likely to have done.

In the oldest Irish epic we have the oldest literature north of the Alps, and in it alone we can see how Britons and Gauls lived and thought, for all we know otherwise is from Roman sources. At a time when Roman ecclesiasticism was killing the ancient literature of Gaul, Germany, and England, the Irish monks, inspired by a passionate love of the legends, monuments, and natural features of their land, struggled bravely against the tightening fetters of the Church. They invented the beautiful story of the meeting of Patrick and Cailte, the last of Finn's paladins. Patrick was delighted by the old warrior's tales, whilst his conscience was eased by the direction of his two guardian angels that he should make Brogan his scribe write them all down to be a joy to nobles in time to come. Professor Kuno Meyer has lately brought to light some beautiful naturalistic Irish poems of the tenth century. The same tendency to naturalism is seen on the great Irish crosses, the bases of which are usually given up to scenes from actual life and nature, though the cross itself has always sacred subjects.

THE IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN THE NINTH CENTURY

By J. B. BURY

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read May 25, 1910

ISSUED WITH A REVISED TEXT OF

'THE KLETOROLOGION OF PHILOTHEOS'

See BRITISH ACADEMY'S SUPPLEMENTAL PAPERS,

I.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY

I.

THOMAS WARTON

By W. P. KER

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read November 16, 1910

THOMAS WARTON represents the history of English poetry, and, more particularly, of English poetry in the Middle Ages—that being the chief part of his study in the volumes he has left behind him. His name is rightly chosen to inaugurate those studies in this Academy, to give an example, from the eighteenth century, of some things which can hardly be bettered at the present day. However much may be erroneous and how much defective in his published work, there is in it, throughout, an example of historical studies springing from a fresh and genuine love of the pursuit

It may be confessed at once without disguise or palliation that Thomas Warton did not come up to the requirements of a modern University. He was a college tutor all his life, and his method with his pupils was simply and openly to discourage their attendance at lectures. I wonder whether the Academy remembered this when they determined to set up his name and image in their hall as an ancestor to be respected. We might be open to some criticism, in these days of University reform, for choosing an idle Fellow, the editor of the *Oxford Sausage*, a lover of ale and tobacco and low company in taverns, to be commemorated in this way as an authority Oxford in the eighteenth century is a favourite shocking example, and Thomas Warton in his neglect of his pupils did little, seemingly, to contradict the prevalent opinion about the inefficiency of Oxford teaching at that time But we were reminded lately by Mr. Dicey, speaking of Blackstone (a friend of Warton's), that the dispraise of Oxford may be overdone; 'the apathy or somnolence of Oxford in the eighteenth century has been the subject of exaggeration'; among the idlers there were some adventurers, who used their leisure in a right Academic way. Blackstone of All Souls and Warton of Trinity are enough to make the censurers reconsider and modify their estimate of those quiet generations of University life.

It is not very difficult, though it takes some time, to collect the principal dates about the study of the history of poetry. It was part of the literary criticism which followed the Renaissance. Sidney writes the history of English poetry in his *Apology*. It was also part of antiquarian research. Rymer, the editor of the *Foedera*, gives an intelligible short account of old French and Provençal poetry, as an introduction to English poetry, in one of his essays on the Drama. An entry in his table of contents may be worth remembering as a convenient summary of English poetical history —

'Chaucer refin'd our language. Which in perfection by Waller.'

Abroad, the connexion between antiquarian and literary history is shown more brilliantly by Muratori in some of his essays on the Antiquities of Italy and in his book on the Perfect Italian Poetry. One is inclined at first to keep the antiquarian studies of men like Hickes and Hearne apart from the modern interests of Dryden, Addison, or Pope. But as a matter of fact there was no distinct separation between the antiquities of literature and such modern questions as were discussed in Dryden's prefaces or in the *Spectator*. Rymer had ambitions as a wit and a lively writer; and on the other hand Sir William Temple, the paragon of elegant literature, is ready to notice the discovery of old Scandinavian heroic verse. He quotes the Death-song of Ragnar Lodbrog in his essay *Of Heroic Virtue*, he calls it a sonnet —

'The whole sonnet is recited by Olaus Wormins in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deserved from the commonwealth of learning) and is very well worth reading by any that love poetry, and to consider the several stamps of that coin according to several ages and climates.

. . . .

I am deceived, if in this sonnet, and a following ode of Scallogrim . . . there be not a vein truely poetical, and in its kind Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, fashions, opinions and languages of such distant countries.'

It was from Sir William Temple that Thomas Warton the elder (the father of Thomas and Joseph Warton) got the suggestion and matter of his Runic Ode, published in the posthumous volume of his Poems in 1748.—

'A Runic Ode taken from the second volume of Sir William Temple's *Miscellanies*: *Argument* Regner Lodbrog, a King of one of the Northern Nations, being mortally stung by a Viper, before the Venom had reach'd his Vitals, broke out into the following verses.'

Here the elder Warton merely translates the two stanzas quoted in Latin by Temple. A more surprising specimen of the good understanding which seems to have obtained between the antiquarians and the modern men of letters is to be found in the *Poetic Miscellany* which was begun by Dryden and continued after his death by the publisher, Jacob Tonson. In the sixth volume, published in 1716, 'the sixth part of Miscellany Poems, by the most eminent hands,' there is another Runic Ode (though it is not called by that popular name), and this poem, the *Waking of Angantyr*, is taken bodily from Hickes's *Thesaurus* and printed in the original Icelandic—

Waknadu Angantyr,
Vekur thig Hervor—

with Hickes's prose version, and no attempt to modernize it or even to explain. Such was the courage, or the temerity, of publishers in those days. The editor of the *Miscellany*, it must be said, was plainly negligent and hurried. He has kept the original Latin heading as he found it in Hickes, now torn from its context and unintelligible as it stands. But this very absurdity makes the contrast all the more remarkable between this Northern poem in its old Northern tongue and the other pieces printed by Tonson in this volume. They are not all of the newest, it should be said, this *Miscellany* includes Bishop Corbet's 'Ballad intituled *The Fairies Farewel*' as well as more modern things like *The Campaign* by Mr. Addison and the *Pastorals* of Mr. Alexander Pope.

The contemporaries of Dryden and Addison, it is clear, did not keep separate the antiquarian and the literary study of poetry. No more than Sir Philip Sidney were they ashamed to speak of the poetry of barbarous nations or of their own Gothic ancestry Sir William Temple has been already quoted. Another significant thing is the little book that was printed at the Oxford press in 1691 containing the macaronic *Polemo-Middinia*, attributed to Drummond of Hawthornden, and, in black letter, the old Scottish poem of *Christs Kirk on the Green.*

A Scot will fight for Christ's Kirk on the Green

—when this was written by Pope he was thinking of Allan Ramsay, whose vigorous revival of old Scottish poetry had already gone far. But Allan Ramsay was not the first to print it, nor was it a mere national prejudice that gave importance to this old comic rhyme. It was published at Oxford by E. G. apparently as a philological diversion and a poetical curiosity. The preface, dated on New Year's Day, explains that it is meant for the Saturnalia and for laughter. The study

of burlesque is justified in an historical argument, with reference to the examples set by Homer, Erasmus, and Rabelais; particular attention is given, of course, to Merlinus Coccaius, as the original pattern followed in *Polemo-Middinia Quod felix faustumque sit Reipublicae Iocoseriae* The notes are full of Teutonic philology, Icelandic and Gothic etymologies set out by the help of the Oxford press with its founts—not yet exhausted—of various type, including even runes, and the alphabet of Ulphilas The Edda of Snorro Sturlæus, Gawain Douglas's *Aeneid*, and Chaucer are frequently quoted. The Marriage of Wit and Learning, of Mercury and Philology, was not broken in those days.

Perhaps, after the Pantagruelist levity of the *Polemo-Middinia* and its preface, it may comfort the Academy to remember that E. G., the author of this philological lark, was Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London. It is remarkable how many Fathers of the Church have been nursing-fathers of mediaeval learning—Huet, Bishop of Avranches, in his discourse on the origin of Romances, followed by Warburton, controversially, on the same subject, Hurd in his essays on Chivalry; Percy. Along with these names Bowle should be remembered—'el reverendo Don Juan Bowle'—the editor and commentator of *Don Quixote*, to whom Thomas Warton was indebted for several mediaeval notes in his edition of Milton If witnesses to character are required, these names are warrant enough for the reputation of mediaeval studies

The importance of those literary researches in the eighteenth century is that they were part of a great reaction, not peculiarly romantic or mediaeval, against one of the products of the Renaissance. The great use and meaning of them was that they were *history*. History was what was wanted to provide matter and substance for the intellect to work on In the Revival of Learning, from the first, there had always been a danger of formalism—a loss of substance for the sake of perfection in style, an economy of studies to ensure perfection within limits, instead of the limitless endeavour of Browning's Grammarian. There was a nobler motive than the mere admiration for style which tended to keep some of the leaders of the new learning from plunging into absorbing researches It was felt that the Humanities, to be really profitable, must take regard of the conditions of human life. The enormous schemes of education propounded by Rabelais and Milton show the spirit of the Renaissance in its greatest ambition—the spirit of Marlowe's Faustus. Another mode was presented in the *Utopia*, where the aim of study is not infinite knowledge, but just so much as may be available for the

lives of ordinary men. The quality of it is carefully chosen, the range restricted, so that the whole nature of a man may be in good training—not burdened by superfluous knowledge nor distracted from the chief end of life by interests which no life can exhaust. *Utopia* is the nobler counterpart to Browning's Grammarian—not the contrast as Browning gives it.—

> This small man goes on adding one to one,
> His hundred's soon hit—

but another sort of man, whose study is so proportioned and arranged that every moment of it is alive, everything in the day's work contributing to the meaning and value of the day.

There is danger in this limited humanism—danger of exhaustion and barrenness. But in the lifetime of Rabelais, Ben Jonson, Burton, and other such extravagant readers the danger was averted. The danger came at the end of the seventeenth century, with the loss of energy which Dryden noted in a famous passage, on the two periods of English drama, before and after the Interregnum.—

> Our age was cultivated thus at length,
> But what we gained in skill we lost in strength,
> Our builders were with want of genius curst,
> The second temple was not like the first.

In this second age, though there was endless and increasing scientific industry of every sort, there was a distrust of science among the chief men of letters. It is seen, curiously, in Samuel Butler, who is in so many things a man of the older fashion; it is seen most eminently in Swift. *Anima Rabelaesii habitans in sicco*; Swift might also be described as the spirit of Sir Thomas More without his hopefulness; the ideal of Swift, as given in the Second Voyage of Gulliver, is pure Utopia in its choice and its limitation of studies. Or Swift might be thought of, again, as Bacon in his negative and critical aspect, his contempt of fallacies and futilities—if one could think of Bacon punishing the follies, without wishing for the advancement, of learning.

The Renaissance worked itself out in one direction to a sort of thin culture or polite literature which found substantial erudition much too laborious and expensive. Bentley was scoffed at by people with very scanty furniture of their own. Some of the most famous men of that time are light in material knowledge, at least so far as is shown in their writings—Berkeley, for example, as compared with Hobbes before him or Hume after him. The great difference between Berkeley and Hume is that Hume wrote the History of

England. Even Dr. Johnson, who has so much of the old-fashioned regardless love of reading, makes little use of it in his works, apart from the *Dictionary*, his depreciation of history and historians is well known. But it was from history that fresh supplies had to be drawn, to save polite literature from dying of inanition, and supplies of this sort were given by Thomas Warton in his Observations on Spenser, in his Milton, and above all in his History of Poetry. He was not afraid to plunge, and he was not too careful about form The *History of English Poetry* was censured for its want of method. But method may be bought too dear, when there is a want of material, and method may be applied, when sufficient material is found. Warton had to work hard to make his way among the manuscripts of the Bodleian and Lambeth, the British Museum, and the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. No doubt he took all the help he could get, and owed much to his advisers and coadjutors, but with all allowances he had still more than enough to do. The main thing wanted was a report on the extant works, and that was what he gave. Method, after all, is far less required in literary than in political history. The political historian has to extract the essence from masses of documents that in themselves are unmeaning. The historian of literature deals with documents which in themselves are intelligible, which have, or which at any rate were by the authors of them thought to have, an immediate, present, independent value, quite apart from their bearings on other things or the inferences that might be drawn from them. Literary history is more like a guide-book than a geography. It may be amusing in itself at a distance from the realities of which it speaks, but it is not properly effective until it brings the traveller on his way, so that he sees for himself the temples and towers and mountain passes with his bodily eyes Some historians of literature go wrong and spoil their work by writing as if their matter were all past, like the events of history; treating plays and poems like battles or sieges or constitutional reforms, to be described indirectly by a reconstructive gentleman in his study, doing his best to explain what he cannot see. Some part of literary history no doubt is busied conjecturally with epic poems and others which (as Paulin Paris said) have the misfortune not to exist. But the main part of it deals with extant things, which live for the present day when the seeing eye falls on them; they are unjustly treated when they are kept by the historian at a distance from the eye, as unrealized though permanent possibilities of sensation. That was not Thomas Warton's policy. As well as he could, he put for-

ward the results of his explorations in large samples, and he was right. Those who read his history see and know a good deal of old poetry at first hand; and those who find what they want will not be troubled at the careless profusion of the show. There are many mistakes, no doubt, which Ritson the accuser was ready to fix upon. But they do not really damage the general character of the book. There are omissions and failures. It is a pity that Warton should have slighted the ironical grace of the dispute between the Owl and the Nightingale, that wonderful anticipation of Chaucer in a rustic thirteenth-century dialect It is strange that he never found the Cottonian MS. *Nero* A. x, with the *Pearl* and *Sir Gawayne*. But these are accidents.

It seems that Warton deliberately refused to be methodical or philosophical. A scheme of the history of poetry had been drawn by Pope, divided like the history of painting into schools. Gray, who took up the subject after Pope, and who resigned it to Warton, would have put into it more order and construction than his rambling successor.

I cannot here go further without a reference to Mr. Courthope, who has finished what Pope and Gray intended, what Warton did, in part, so well, and I take leave here, in the first *Warton Lecture*, to offer our Fellow the congratulations of this Society on the accomplishment of his task—a vote of thanks which I imagine might well be ratified by the Parliament of Birds, in their own *Paradise*.

The history of poetry, even when, like Warton's, it is random and informal, is part of history at large. It has its inconveniences and limitations, it can never be a harmonious work of art, like Gibbon's history, just for the reason already given, that works of art are what it deals with, and that art and literature are living things which assert themselves against the historian and cannot be made into mere matter for a narrative. Nevertheless the history of literature, like political history, is part of the memory of the world, it is philosophical, like the history of philosophy itself, a record of fashions of thought, of ideas. Thomas Warton, who took up the history of Gothic architecture as well as poetry, had a knowledge of the past life of England most ample, fresh, and variegated. He took an honourable share in that business of historical investigation which was itself the most important new fashion of thought in the eighteenth century. Partly through the store of new matter that it provided for the 'reading public', partly through the zest and enthusiasm of its students—the spirit of adventure, which is the same in Warton as in Scott—it did more than any theory to correct the

narrow culture, the starved elegance, of the preceding age. It is not to be forgotten that Johnson, who was disrespectful to history in general, and, occasionally, unkind to Warton, became himself an historian of literature in his *Lives of the Poets*.

Warton's historical work began in admiration, particularly of Spenser and of Milton's early poems. This, like Joseph Warton's critical work also, was due to their father Thomas Warton the elder had discovered the early poems of Milton, in the volume of 1645, when as yet there were few to praise them. (As late as 1782, Joseph Warton in his essay on Pope speaks of Milton's 'smaller and neglected poems'.) The neglect and the recovery of them is described by Thomas the son in the preface to his edition of 'Poems upon several occasions, by John Milton'. This is one passage :—

'My father used to relate that when he once at Magdalene College Oxford mentioned in high terms this volume to Mr. Digby the intimate friend of Pope, Mr. Digby expressed much surprise that he had never heard Pope speak of them, went home and immediately gave them an attentive reading, and asked Pope if he knew anything of this hidden treasure. Pope availed himself of the question and accordingly we find him soon afterwards sprinkling his *Eloisa to Abelard* with epithets and phrases of a new form and sound, pilfered from *Comus* and the *Penseroso*.'

The work of Thomas Warton as a commentator was very largely the tracing of resemblances and possible borrowings—an estimate, in detail, of the reading and book-learning of Spenser and Milton. But it is more than an essay on what is called in so many German professional treatises the *Belesenheit* of authors Nor is it like the work of those 'parallelists' (the word is Warton's own) who 'mistake resemblances for thefts'. It is a liberal interpretation of the minds of the poets, through their reading. Warton justifies himself, modestly and sensibly, at the end of his chapter 'of Spenser's imitations from old romances'.

'Many other examples might be alledged, from which it would be more abundantly manifested that our author's imagination was entirely possessed with that species of reading, which was the fashion and the delight of his age. The lovers of Spenser, I hope, will not think that I have been too tedious in a disquisition which has contributed not only to illustrate many particular passages in their favorite poet, but to display the general cast and colour of his poem. Some there are, who will censure what I have collected on this subject as both trifling and uninteresting; but such readers can have no taste for Spenser.'

Without admiration, Warton's work would not have been done; and the same may be said of Joseph Warton's exhilarating criticism.

This is even more remarkable, inasmuch as he praises the work of Pope with no mean or ungenerous exceptions or cavillings, while at the same time he refuses to take 'acute understanding' as a substitute for 'creative and glowing imagination'.

The brothers Warton make the same distinction as Hurd in his memorable phrase, between 'good sense' and 'fine fabling'. Thus Thomas Warton in his note on *Comus*, ver. 195, *O thievish Night*: 'In the present age, in which almost every common writer avoids palpable absurdities, at least monstrous and unnatural conceits, would Milton have introduced this passage, where thievish Night is supposed for some felonious purpose to shut up the stars in her dark lantern? Certainly not. But in the present age, correct and rational as it is, had *Comus* been written, we should not perhaps have had some of the greatest beauties of its wild and romantic imagery'

This gives the same antithesis as Joseph Warton puts at the beginning of his essay on Pope, in the dedication to the Reverend Dr. Young, Rector of Welwyn in Hertfordshire. His aim is 'to impress on the reader that a clear head and acute understanding are not sufficient alone to make a Poet'—'that it is a creative and glowing imagination, *acer spiritus ac vis*, and that alone that can stamp a writer with this exalted and very uncommon character, which so few possess, and of which so few can properly judge'

Joseph Warton goes much further than Thomas He speaks of Dante's 'sublime and original poem', 'which abounds in images and sentiments almost worthy of Homer, but whose works he had never seen.' Thomas Warton admires Dante too, but is more apologetic—'this wonderful compound of classical and romantic fancy, of pagan and Christian theology, of real and fictitious history, of tragical and comic incidents, of familiar and heroic manners, and of satirical and sublime poetry. But the grossest improprieties of this poem discover an originality of invention, and its absurdities often border on sublimity We are surprised that a poet should write one hundred cantos on hell, paradise, and purgatory. But this prolixity is partly owing to the want of art and method, and is common to all early compositions in which everything is related circumstantially without rejection, and not in those general terms which are used by modern writers.'

'General terms' is the eighteenth-century prescription for a good style Joseph Warton will not have it, and what he says might have been said by the young men whose watchword was *hierro*, and who fought the great battle of *Hernani* in 1830 One sentence may be enough: 'Among the other fortunate circumstances that attended

Homer, it was not one of the least that he wrote before *general* and *abstract* terms were invented' There is much else to the same effect. The brothers are not of one mind about poetic diction, and Thomas is the more old fashioned of the two

But it does not matter for the success of his work, and the moral seems to be that it is possible to study mediaeval literature and get much good from it without being exorbitantly romantic—again a consideration for an Academy. To study the Middle Ages it is not necessary to be mediaeval, in the sense of any 'romantic school'. Gray was not, Scott was not, nor were the other workers in this country from the time of Percy and Warton onwards—Tyrwhitt, Ritson, Price (the editor of Warton, too little known), George Ellis, Leyden. Peacock's Welsh antiquities in the *Misfortunes of Elphin* show how mediaeval studies may be followed out by a detached ironical mind. The great French scholars who have done most for the history of mediaeval literature have worked, like Gaston Paris, with a clear light; while on the other hand the romantic artists do not require the learning of Scott. Victor Hugo did without it, and built his mediaeval inventions out of the most casual reading; he did not know as much as Dr. Johnson about the books of chivalry.

What is to be the future of these studies? Where is advance to be made?

For one thing, it is becoming plain that more languages are required. We are under the curse of Babel; those who speak of the glory of poets sometimes forget how narrow and provincial is the fame of most of them, how broken and impeded by differences of language, as compared with the painters and musicians. But that is no reason why the sons of learning should refuse the difficulties; and for mediaeval studies all the tongues are needed Old Irish and Welsh cannot be kept separate from Icelandic and Provençal, if the mind of the Dark and Middle Ages is to be understood. Nor are those studies merely antiquarian. Let us remember Whitley Stokes; I have no right to speak of his work, but I am proud to think that I knew the man himself, and I know both how he attended to other languages besides the Irish on which he spent his life, and also how he flashed with pleasure at the smallest proof that anything in his work could be made to bear on the living imagination of the present day.

For another thing, much may be done to clear away some literary prejudices about the Middle Ages—for example, those in Lowell's essay on Chaucer. His sentences there on the Provençal poets and their German contemporaries are probably the worst criticism ever written; he has warned many young ingenuous people away from

those regions of poetry with his brisk and complacent slander. He turns from Provence to Germany, to the land and the time of Walther von der Vogelweide, and what he has to say is *Tedeschi lurchi*, 'German gluttons'. 'On the whole it would be hard to find anything more tediously artificial than the Provençal literature, except the reproduction of it by the Minnesingers. The *Tedeschi lurchi* certainly did contrive to make something heavy as dough out of what was light, if not very satisfying, in the canorous dialect of Southern Gaul.' It is hard to speak of this as it deserves, to do so might require another quotation from Dante at the end by way of apology 'È cortesia lui esser villano'. It may be enough to use once more the immortal words of *Sartor Resartus* 'All which Propositions I, for the present, content myself with modestly but peremptorily and irrevocably denying'.

One may hope to hear a better account of the Provençal lyric poets shortly, when Mr. Alfred Jeanroy comes to London at the invitation of the University, and to find in them what Dante and Petrarch found—or even more than that, for it may prove that they are the original discoverers, followed by half of Christendom ever since in the art of lyric melody.

One is sometimes inclined to envy Warton and the other easy-going men of the older days when one looks at the systematic work of modern scholars—'now when all the claims have been pitched' as the old Greek poet said, thinking regretfully of the time when the ploughs had not been driven as yet through the fallow land Chaucer's complaint with the same purport rises to mind —

> For wel I wot that folk han herbeforn
> Of making ropen and lad awey the corn,
> And I come after glening here and there,
> And am ful glad if I may finde an ere
> Of any goodly word that they han laft.

But those complaints are not as sad as they seem, and they may be a comfort to the historians of poetry. Chaucer was not really, as he pretended, the last English poet, and possibly for the historians now to complain about the little free ground left to them might be a good omen for rich discoveries in the future; while the generous testimony borne by the scholars of France, Germany, and America to the work of Furnivall proves that the organization of research owes much to the unchartered freedom of the explorer, and is quick to acknowledge its debt. The example, on both sides, is good for the inauguration of the Warton Lecture.

OBITUARY NOTICES

WHITLEY STOKES

1830–1909

It has rarely fallen to the lot of any scholar to have been spared to devote himself to his chosen study for nearly sixty years, to have seen it emerge from infancy to manhood, and to be able to say that much of this development was due to his own exertions. This was the case of Whitley Stokes. Born on February 28, 1830, he was only 23 years of age when the *Grammatica Celtica* appeared. His own first publication on a Celtic subject—a paper on Irish Declension—dates from October, 1857. From that time onward to his dying day not a year passed in which he did not make one or several important contributions to Celtic scholarship. No other Celtic scholars—few scholars in *any* field of research—have left such a record of work behind them. And when it is remembered that all this was achieved while he won the highest distinctions in his professional career—that of Law—and did work there which alone would have sufficed to make a great reputation, it must be confessed that such energy, such devotion, have rarely been seen.

In was a favourable period in the life of the Irish nation into which Whitley Stokes was born. During the first quarter of the last century, immediately after the Union, the mind of Ireland was sunk in apathy and dejection, and a marked decline of intellectual vitality was seen everywhere. But in the period from 1830 to 1850 a reaction took place, and a singular development of energy in almost every department of mental culture, in art and literature, in science and learning, sprang up.[1] In the cultivated home of his father, the celebrated physician William Stokes (1804–1878), young Whitley early imbibed that love for literature, music and art, which he retained all through his life. At a later time he became the intimate friend of many well-known men of letters and artists: the Rossettis, Sir Theodore Martin, John Ormsby, Sir Frederick Burton, Sir Samuel Ferguson, and of distinguished scholars in the most varied branches of learning: Max Muller, Buhler, Windisch, Charles Tawney, Sir John Rhŷs, Sir Charles Lyall, and others.

[1] See *William Stokes, his life and work* in Hart's *Masters of Medicine*, 1898, p 29.

He was fifteen years old when his grandfather, after whom he was named Whitley, died, a man of remarkable scientific attainments, Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Ireland (1763–1845), and of such a noble and lovable character that even his political enemies spoke of him with admiration and almost with affection. Having studied and graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, he chose the legal profession. In any other country he would naturally have adopted an academic career in philology, for there lay his chief interest, as well as his most brilliant gifts. But in Ireland and England the study of philology had not yet been properly recognized by the Universities—it is hardly recognized even now—and could offer no prospect which would have satisfied his activity or ambition. Called to the Bar in 1853, he first practised as an Equity draftsman and conveyancer in London from 1855 to 1862, when he went out to India Here in 1865 he was gazetted Secretary to the Legal Department, and in 1877 became Law member of the Council of the Governor-General, a post which he held until his retirement in 1882, when he returned to Europe. The rest of his life he spent in scholarly seclusion at his London residence in 15 Grenville Place and at Cowes and Camberley.

Stokes seems to have begun his Celtic studies in 1848, in his nineteenth year, while still an undergraduate at Trinity College. Here he also learned Sanscrit, and mastered Bopp's Comparative Grammar. The scholar who had the greatest influence upon him during these years of preparation was Rudolf Thomas Siegfried of Dessau, who came to Dublin early in the fifties, was made Assistant Librarian of Trinity College in 1855, and later on became Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology. Siegfried had been trained at Tübingen in the best school of philological studies. An affectionate friendship soon united the two young men, and a new zest was imparted to their studies when in 1853 the *Grammatica Celtica* appeared.

At this time Stokes also found much sympathy in his studies from two native scholars, Curry and O'Donovan, to whom he often turned for information on modern Irish. When in 1856 he removed to London he kept up a constant correspondence with them. The following letter from O'Donovan, dated April 30, 1857, will be read with interest —

'I met your father at Dr Wilde's (the last day that the late Mr. Kemble dined out), and he told me that your steadiness, good conduct and highly honourable bearing had afforded him more happiness than he had for many years derived from any other source. This, I assure you, gave me much sincere pleasure, for although I have known, I may say, nothing of your history since you were about 13 years old, I had then formed a high estimate of your future

career. The only thing I then feared was the weakness of your eyes, which, I am told, is now completely removed You, and the rising generation (young Ireland !), will completely throw us into the shade in the philosophical pursuit of Irish studies, but I must, as a sincere old acquaintance, entreat of you not to neglect your profession for any Quixottick study. I too was called to the Bar, but neglected it for favourite studies !! of little profit!!'

In London Stokes joined the Philological Society, in whose Transactions he published in 1859 his first text, *Irish Glosses from a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin*, signed W. S. It was not a critical edition, for which to the end of his life he did not believe the time had come, but a faithful transcript with all contractions marked in italics. In publishing this and other glossaries he wished to supply continental philologists with trustworthy material for their etymological researches. At this time Stokes had great hopes of a revival of philological studies in England. 'You have heard of Aufrecht's appointment to the chair of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology at Edinburgh,' he wrote to Siegfried in 1860. 'Now for a good English Philological Journal, with him as editor, Williams and Norgate as publishers, Wright and you, Lottner, Poole, Norris, Buhler and myself for contributors.'

In 1859 I find him working at Fiac's Hymn on St Patrick, at the poem on King Aed of Leinster, the Lorica of Gildas and the Félire of Oengus. In the next year he published his first book, *Irish Glosses*, for which he received the Gold Medal of the Royal Irish Academy. On its publication Curry wrote to him 'Of course the really valuable part of your book is quite beyond the range of my poor intelligence. Still I understand enough of it to satisfy me that it is the most remarkable book that has yet appeared among us on the subject of the ancient Irish language.'

In 1860 he was working at the Book of Deer, the oldest monument of Scottish Gaelic, the Irish MSS. in the Bodleian, and at Cornish. Now also he began his connexion with Kuhn's newly-founded periodical, the *Zeitschrift zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, in which appeared 'Bemerkungen uber das altirische Verbum' and an article on the inscription of Todi.

By these publications, which betrayed the hand of the coming master, Stokes at once drew the eyes of all interested in Celtic philology upon himself Scholars now everywhere looked to him for guidance in the maze of Celtic studies. He was the first—after Zeuss—to free Celtology from the discredit that had so long clung to it through the wild theories of Celtomaniacs and the inaccuracy of dilettanti. But for him and Heinrich Ebel there would have been no representatives of the Zeussian school during the sixties.

Pott, Diefenbach, Mone, Pictet, Schleicher, all welcomed his work

with delight The latter wrote to him: 'Nur so weiter! und es wird im Celtischen bald ebenso hell werden, als es bereits auf manchem Sprachgebiete geworden ist, das vor wenigen Jahrzehnten noch völlig dunkel war'

We may say that Stokes' Celtic work falls into two large sections his grammatical, lexicographical, and etymological researches, and his editions and translations of Celtic texts, of Breton and Cornish, but more particularly of Irish, literature.

At one time it had been his intention to bring out a second edition of the *Grammatica Celtica*, an idea which he abandoned when he heard that Ebel was engaged on the same task.

His favourite pursuit was undoubtedly etymology. His *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* still remains the standard book on the subject. It is the chief constructive work of his life.

While the name of Whitley Stokes the philologist is familiar only to the small circle of Celtic students and comparative philologists, his fame as an editor and translator of ancient Irish literature has gone abroad to a wider public. It is no exaggeration to say that but for his labours in this neglected field we should not now be in a position to gauge its extent or to know its merits He had held this aim before him almost from the outset. Thus I find from his correspondence already in the fifties that he was thinking of an edition of the *Táin Bó Cualngi*, the largest and most celebrated epic of ancient Ireland. But he first served an apprenticeship, as it were, in editing less fascinating work, such as glosses and glossaries. Then in 1870 he opened his series of editions and translations of the masterpieces of ancient literature with the *Vision of Adamnan*. This was followed in 1876 by the *Death of Cuchulinn*, the *Martyrology of Oengus* (1880), and the Irish version of the *Destruction of Troy* (1881). On his return from India to Europe in 1883 he began at once to transcribe from the vellums in the great store-houses of Irish literature—the Bodleian, the British Museum, the Royal Irish Academy—all that seemed to him to call loudest for publication. Thus altogether about sixty longer and shorter tales, heroic and romantic, lives of saints, and religious poetry, were gradually edited and translated for the first time. One of the largest texts, an Irish version of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, he finished during the last year of his life. The pen fell from his hand as he was writing the preface. His old friend, Professor Windisch, long associated with him in the publication of the *Irische Texte*, brought out the posthumous volume.

I must not pass over his contributions to another field of study, in which he had always taken the liveliest interest, Folk-lore. His

constant contributions on this subject to the *Academy* made both Celtic scholars and folk-lorists regret the cessation of that periodical. The wide range of his information may be seen from the titles: the legend of the oldest animals, on man octipartite, sitting *dharna*, on the compulsory fasting of cattle, on the effect of crime upon earth, on the employment of bees in war, heathen infant baptism, &c. It would be a useful undertaking and a fitting tribute to the departed scholar if the British Academy were to collect and bring out these scattered articles in a volume.

Stokes had the rare good fortune that his health and all his mental faculties remained unimpaired to the very end. A few weeks before his death, in the wretched light of a wintry day, he was able to decipher a dim passage in a manuscript, which would have tried much younger eyes. His marvellous memory, stored with the reminiscences of seventy years, was as fresh during the last year of his life as ever. He never repeated himself. On his death-bed he told his daughters an anecdote from his Indian life which they had never heard before. His interests and sympathies seemed to grow wider and deeper towards the end of his life, his affections stronger. His zest and delight in the discoveries of others as well as his own was touching to witness. He died on April 13, 1909, after a few days' illness, without pain, and thus we may pronounce him happy in death as in life.

KUNO MEYER.

WILLIAM RICHARD MORFILL

1834–1909

William Richard Morfill, M.A., Ph D., D.Litt., was born in Maidstone on the 17th of November, 1834, and was thus at his death on the 9th of November, 1909, within eight days of completing his 75th year. His father was a professional musician, and in this capacity of considerable local note The family bore a French surname, and is understood to have been of Huguenot origin. From childhood young Morfill displayed those remarkable powers of memory which astonished all who knew him, and which continued to the last day of his life. He was first sent to the Maidstone Grammar School, of which he retained no pleasurable memories, although he must have there made considerable advances in Latin and Greek scholarship, for he is said to have composed a Greek poem of remarkable merit on a lawsuit which at the time excited much local interest. The promise displayed in this composition led to his being sent to Tonbridge Grammar School, with a view to his entering the University of Oxford, to which this school had many valuable scholarships. This hope was fully realized by his winning in 1853, at the age of eighteen, one of the Skinner Scholarships, which introduced him to that Oxford career that was to occupy all the rest of his life.

But Tonbridge not only introduced him to Oxford, but also accidentally to those Russian and Slavonic studies in which he became so eminent, and which were the ground of his election to be a Fellow of the British Academy. He had already shown an interest in the study of modern languages, and probably read French and German; and, observing his tastes, one of the assistant-masters, who had somewhere picked up a Russian grammar (probably that of Heard, 1824), presented it to him. Young Morfill set himself with enthusiasm to the study of this difficult language; and this accidental circumstance became the foundation of that wide knowledge of Russian and the Slavonic tongues generally which subsequently became his special, and, for England, almost unique distinction.

It is not to be supposed, however, that this was by any means his absorbing study. From his earliest days he had been an omnivorous

reader of the English literature of the last four centuries, and especially of the English poets, and apparently whatever he read he retained and was able to reproduce with wonderful readiness and aptness on any occasion Of poetry he had a very critical appreciation, and many of his friends know, moreover, that his own poetic faculty was by no means inconsiderable.

On proceeding to Oxford with his Tonbridge scholarship, Morfill was matriculated as a commoner at Corpus Christi College, on the 28th of May, 1853, but in the same year gained an open classical scholarship at Oriel College, and migrated thither. In 1855 he obtained First Class Honours in Classical Moderations, being put in the same class with Dr. Edward Moore, then of Pembroke College, now Principal of St. Edmund Hall and Canon of Canterbury, also a Fellow of the British Academy. One who was with Morfill at Oriel says, 'In the latter years of "the fifties" there sat at the scholars table in the hall of Oriel an unusually able body of men, and among these Morfill was the most brilliant conversationalist. The wideness of his reading, the aptness of his quotations, and the epigrammatic vigour of his sentences made his conversation extraordinarily delightful to those who had the advantage of listening to him. To me he was an absolutely unique personality. I always thought that he was more like Charles Lamb than any one whom I have ever had the fortune to meet I think there were circumstances in his literary studies which may in some measure account for this, and for the delightful style of his conversation. He was, like Lamb, a devoted student of the Elizabethan literature at a time when such studies were comparatively rare in Oxford, and I cannot but think that these studies helped to give the racy tone, as well as to supply the apposite quotations, which gave such a charm to his table-talk'

In 1857 Morfill went into the Literae Humaniores School, and his friends, aware of his great abilities, his wide reading, and his excellent scholarship, confidently expected him to come out with the highest honours. Unfortunately, he was taken seriously ill during the examination, which he was unable to complete, with the result that he had to retire and take only a Pass degree—a terrible blow to himself and a source of deep regret to his friends It is related that Provost Hawkins sent for him, and, after expressing his own deep disappointment at what had happened, urged him not to take the misfortune to heart too greatly, for that a distinguished and useful career might still be achieved, even though he had through failure of health missed the highest honours in the Schools But this failure deprived Morfill of the chance of a College Fellowship, and

after taking his degree he for several years devoted himself to tuition, at first in his rooms in Oriel Street, where he was in great request as a successful and popular 'coach' for the Schools. Many men of note passed through his hands, among whom was the eminent Bishop Hannington of the Central African Mission, and one who has travelled widely says that he has been surprised at the number of men holding positions of eminence in many places who spoke with deep appreciation of what they owed to Mr. Morfill's tuition. In the midst of this busy life, which at a later time was varied by lecturing on English at Wren's in London, by examining, and by reviewing in the *Athenaeum*, Mr. Morfill vigorously prosecuted his studies in the Slavonic languages living and extinct, as well as in some of the neighbouring tongues, including Hungarian and Roumanian, and began to pay Long Vacation visits to Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Turkey, Greece, and even the lands of the Caucasus, where he acquired considerable acquaintance with the Georgian language. If I may intrude a personal reminiscence, it was about this time, in 1866 or 1867, that I first heard Mr. Morfill's name. I was at that time working at Russian, in order to extend my knowledge of Comparative Philology to the Slavonic family of languages, and in connexion with this had been introduced by my friend Sir Robert Giffen to the late Mr. W. R. S. Ralston of the British Museum, whose name was then well known in connexion with Russian literature. In remarking upon the little attention paid to the Slavonic languages in England, I asked Mr. Ralston if there was any one but himself who took interest in these studies, and he immediately named Mr. Morfill as one who knew far more about them than he did. I had never before heard the name, which sounded to me foreign, and I asked what countryman Mr. Morfill was, and was surprised to be told that he was an Englishman and a resident of Oxford. It was not till Mr. Morfill came to the Philological Society one evening in the early seventies, to read a paper, I think, on the 'Aspects' of the Verb in Russian and other Slavonic languages, when, as it happened, I was the only member present who could ask a few questions, that I formed a personal acquaintance with him, which continued unbroken till his death.

But Slavonic languages then lay far away from the studies of Oxford, and Mr. Morfill's attainments were known only to a select few in the University. It was not till he was appointed by the Taylorian Curators in 1873 to deliver the Ilchester Lectures on Slavonic Literature at that Institution—the centre of modern language studies in connexion with the University—that it dawned upon

Oxford that it had among its resident graduates the foremost Slavonic scholar in Great Britain, and it was not till 1889 that, through the intervention of the same Taylorian Curators, a place was found for him on the teaching staff of the University, as Taylorian Teacher of Russian, a position which in 1900 was raised by Convocation to that of Professor of Russian and the Slavonic Languages.

Mr. Morfill had already before the latter date published simplified grammars of Polish, Serbian, Russian, Bulgarian, and Czech, histories of Russia and Poland, five or six other works on the literature, religion, national life, and ethnological relations of various Slavonic peoples, besides many articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, including those on *Russian* and *Polish Literature*, on Pushkin, &c., and many reviews and articles for the *Athenæum*, to which he was a constant contributor, and the writer of many of the annual reviews of Russian and Polish literature. Nineteen books appear under his name in the Bodleian Catalogue, besides his Ballads from MSS. of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, edited for the Ballad Society in 1873. He was deputed by the University to represent it at the 500th anniversary of the University of Krakau in 1900, and at the Congress on Slav History and Philology at St. Petersburg in 1904. More private sojourns had already made him well known to scholars and many besides from the Erzgebirge to the Caucasus, over all which area his familiarity with the spoken languages gave him a great advantage; and he usually returned from his visits to those regions laden with literary spoils, while a constant stream of complimentary volumes flowed in upon him from scholars who knew or had heard of him He was elected a corresponding honorary member of various academies and learned societies from Prag to Bukharest, and it was only four months before his death that the degree of Ph D. was conferred upon him by the Czech University of Prag, with a complimentary address of the most hearty appreciation. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, in the Philological Section, in 1903, and was undoubtedly the greatest Slavonic scholar in the section.

Mr. Morfill married while still a College Tutor, about 1862, Miss Charlotte Maria Lee, a Northamptonshire lady of great intelligence, vivacity, and brightness, who proved an enthusiastic partner of his labours. All who knew them recognized in them a singularly well-matched couple Her early death in 1881 was a blow which for some years almost prostrated him, and which he never entirely surmounted, though he strove with redoubled devotion to his favourite studies to overcome the feeling of his loss About

this time also there grew up at his house on Sunday afternoons a kind of *salon* at which his friends used to gather. Among its more regular frequenters were Dr. Birkbeck Hill, the great Johnsonian, Professor Thorold Rogers, Professor Rhŷs, Mr. A. S. Strong (afterwards Librarian of the House of Lords), Mr. G. Waring, of Magdalen Hall, Mr. W. R. S. Ralston, Professor Goldwin Smith (when in Oxford), Professor E. A. Freeman, historian of the Norman Conquest, and many younger men still alive. One of the latter says: 'This weekly reunion, continued through many years, is one of the most cherished recollections of myself and many others then young, who thus enjoyed intercourse with our host and his distinguished guests.' The friendship between Mr. Morfill and Dr. Birkbeck Hill was specially intimate, and the former often claimed the credit of having induced the latter to complete his Johnsonian work by publishing his edition of Johnson's Letters.

In 1896 Mr. Morfill began work of great value in conjunction with the Rev. Dr. Charles, Fellow of the Academy, in translating the Old Slavonic apocryphal literature. Their translation of the *Secrets of Enoch* at once became a first-class authority on later Judaism. Later, in 1906, Mr. Morfill translated back into Greek the two recensions of the Slavonic text of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* for Dr. Charles's critical edition of the Greek versions of that work. More recently he was engaged on a translation of the unpublished ancient *Novgorod Chronicle*, to be edited by Dr. Beazley, which his death left to be completed by another hand.

On his appointment as first professor of Slavonic, in 1900, Mr. Morfill, determined to justify the existence of his Chair, devoted himself with unremitting energies and signal success to its duties, but he was already aged sixty-six, and few years elapsed before his friends began to notice that he was aging rapidly. The first symptoms of weakness showed themselves in occasional fainting fits, which began in September, 1905, as time passed these became more frequent, and during the nine months preceding his death on November 9, 1909, he was rarely seen out of doors. Yet, until the end of the Summer Term of 1909, and even in the beginning of the next, after the Long Vacation, he took his students in his own study, and worked hard at translations, lectures, articles, and reviews, many of which, finished and unfinished, still lay on his table at the end. And he received the visits of his friends with all the brilliancy, good talk, and overflowing power of quotation in many languages which had been the marvel of every one for many years. Several friends saw and talked with him, and some students even worked with him

within a day of that on which he fell asleep in his chair by his study fire—a sleep from which he never awoke

He had been a Curator of the Taylorian Institution for nearly thirty years, and was most assiduous in his attendance at all meetings, taking the keenest interest in its prosperity He was also a Member of the English Board, and of the Modern Language Board of Studies of the University

I am in this notice able only to a slight extent to appraise Mr. Morfill's scholarship His interest in languages was literary and practical rather than grammatical or etymological. His marvellous memory, to which I have never known but one parallel, enabled him rapidly to acquire a language, rapidly to master and remember its literature. His knowledge both in reading and writing most of the Slavonic languages was thorough, and gave him a full command of their literature. Within the domain of these languages also, his knowledge of their history and comparative philology was clear and extensive. I had many occasions to draw upon it in dealing in the New English Dictionary with the etymology and history of the words that we have adopted directly or indirectly (through German or French), from these languages, and Mr. Morfill never failed to give me or find for me the facts that were required. The history of the relations of this group to Indo-European as a whole, to the Aryan *Ursprache*, or even to sister-groups, were branches of study later than his student years, and to which his tastes did not closely draw him, attracted as he mainly was to the literature to which the languages themselves gave access. But he had a practical knowledge of many languages, and seldom found himself unable to understand or be understood in any part of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals; and his knowledge of their literatures was something amazing Every friend was astonished and delighted with the apt and often long passages—English, Latin, Greek, or other—with which he greeted them on the way or illumined his talk. Professor Rhŷs, one of our Fellows, has told how astonished he was on the occasion of his first meeting Mr. Morfill, when the latter overwhelmed him with quoting many of the finest passages from Dafydd ap Gwilym, and other old Welsh poets. Others have spoken to me of the considerable extent of his knowledge of Old Irish, which I had thought to be considerably out of the line of his studies. I myself have been astonished at his knowledge of the Scottish poets from Dunbar to Burns, and the long quotations from them which he could pour forth.

Beautiful traits of Morfill's character were his unfailing courtesy, his wide charity and tolerance, his fidelity to friends, his interest in

the studies of the young—men and maids alike—of which many tales might be told if this were the fitting occasion.

But the fellowship of the British Academy implies more than mere personal traits, and I will close with as full a list as has been able to be got of his contributions to the philology, history, and the literature of the Slavonic lands.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

The numbers show chronological order.

1. *The Bohemians and Slovaks.* Lond., 1879, 8°.
2. *Russia* [part of 'Foreign Countries and British Colonies']. Lond., 1880, 8°.
3. *The Dawn of European Literature. Slavonic literature.* Lond., 1883, 8°.
4. *A Simplified Grammar of the Polish Language.* (Trübner's collection of Simplified Grammars . . . ed. by R. Rost, vol. xi.) Lond., 1884, 8°.
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11. *Russia.* (National Life and Thought . . . , p. 87.) Lond. (Edin.), 1891, 8°.
12. *The Slavonic Religion.* (Religious Systems of the World, 2nd ed., p. 260.) Lond., 1892, 8°.
    — [as above, 3rd ed., p. 260.] Lond., 1892, 8°.
    — [as above, 4th ed., p. 260.] Lond. and New York, 1901, 8°.
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14. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch.* Trans. from the Slavonic, by W. R. Morfill, and edited, with introduction, notes, and indices, by the Rev. R. H. Charles. Oxf., Clar. Press, 1896 [1893], 8°.
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16. *The Apocalypse of Baruch.* Translated from the Slavonic (Cambridge Texts and Studies, Vol. V, No. 1, Apocr. Anec. II. 94–102, 1897).
17. *A Grammar of the Bohemian or Čech Language.* Oxf., Clar. Press, 1899, 8°.
18. *A History of Russia from the Birth of Peter the Great to the Death of Alexander II* . . . , with 12 maps and plans. Lond. (Edin. pr.), 1902, 8°.
19. *The Last Days of John Hus, a Historical Romance, tr. from the Original Čech*, with an introd. by W. R. Morfill . . . illus. by J. Dedina [signed at end 'Pognus']. Lond. (Edin. pr.), 1909, 8°.

He also edited for the Ballad Society *Ballads from MSS. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.* London, 187[illegible].

FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL

1825-1910

THE literary work of Dr. Furnivall, down to 1900, is recorded in the bibliography by Mr. Littlehales which forms part of the volume—*An English Miscellany*—presented to Furnivall in honour of his 75th birthday. In that Catalogue may be found all the work achieved by Furnivall as a man of letters. The first article is a pamphlet, about 1850, *Association a Necessary Part of Christianity*, and the title, in spite of the author's changes of opinion, may stand well enough as a motto for all the rest of his life. He was a great founder of societies. He made many, and belonged to many, with very various aims—education, sculling, and literary research—and no man was ever more loyal in his attendance or more sincere in his devotion to the causes which he took up. It was a sense of community, a socialist impulse to make all the treasures of learning available for all comers, that set him on his way as a student Though indefatigable in his book-work, and afraid of nothing in the shape of pains and labour among antiquarian details, he was altogether unlike the pure man of science who keeps his own tenour without stopping to consider the use and service of his results Furnivall could endure as much as any of the most devoted followers of learning, but in all his many exacting pieces of business he remembered his companions and associates, and was conscious that what he was doing was in some way or other contributing to the general good His principle of association, also, included much more than his contemporary members of the Working Men's College, or the *Philological* or the *Early English Text Society*. He used to speak of the beginning of his early English studies as a sort of debt to the past generations. It was a worship of his ancestors; he looked at the little-known, the unpublished, manuscripts, almost as if they were souls in prison, here, he thought to himself, is so much life that had once a meaning in its own day, that is still not dead, that ought to be released, so that people of the present day may have the good, whatever it may be, of what their forefathers have left in writing Thus, as Furnivall differed from the purely scientific investigator, he differed also from the pure critic in his appreciation of literature. His judgement was never impartial, and he was

fortunately tolerant of much incurable and inveterate dullness—like that of the fifteenth-century versifier of the *Seynt Graal*—so long as there was any chance of profit for philology, or the history of manners, or any other branches of learning which can thrive without the graces of poetry

His life is now being written by some of his friends for a memorial volume; the principal facts for his Fellows in the Academy are those of the bibliography, and, which is much the same thing, of the various societies to which Furnivall belonged

Frederick James Furnivall was born on February 4, 1825 His father was a surgeon at Egham, who appears in the biography of Shelley, he was a man of strong character, clearly in many things like his son, he treated his son—one of several children—with generosity, though he had to pull him up for his neglect of his law studies and his waste of time in ragged schools and other charities. It was in obedience to his mother that Furnivall began his abstinence from wine, never broken through. He was educated at University College, London, and at Trinity Hall At Cambridge he rowed in his College boat; he also distinguished himself as the author of the first narrow racing-boat for sculls; it was in a boat on Furnivall's lines that Newell beat Clasper on the Tyne in 1846. He came to London, and was called to the Bar in 1849, and, as noted already, disappointed his father by thinking about other things besides Law. He was in a set of which F. D. Maurice, for a time, was the leader, and J. M. Ludlow one of the most active members, it was out of their various interests and activities that the Working Men's College came to be founded in 1854.

Furnivall, so far, had been little given to books, apart from what was necessary for his tasks, or pleasant for diversion. It might have seemed likely that he would take either to politics of one kind or another, or wholly to such work as was required for the Working Men's College. But he lived with men who had a great variety of studies, and among these Furnivall was led to take up old English—if the term is still allowable in the sense which it used to bear in ordinary conversation; and which was still current when Dr. Richard Morris published his *Old English Miscellany*. Furnivall became honorary secretary of the Philological Society in 1854—the year of the foundation of the Working Men's College—and he held the office till the day of his death, writing full minutes at every meeting, not contenting himself with the usual formal statement that 'a paper was read', but giving in the minutes an abstract of the paper. There is hardly anywhere better evidence of his wonderful alertness and

perseverance. The Philological Society took up, in 1857, a project of a New English Dictionary, which has come to more than was at first thought possible. Furnivall was appointed Editor, along with Herbert Coleridge, and took part in the negotiations with the Clarendon Press for the publication of the great work. There are other editors, but Furnivall, though he gave up the command, retained his interest in the Dictionary, which was, in fact, not to be separated from his interest in the early English texts. In founding the *Early English Text Society*, in 1864, Furnivall had two chief motives. One was philological to get material for the Dictionary so that it might be a complete record of the existing known words of the language. The other was historical to make accessible as many books as the Society could afford to print, from inedited MSS. or from old and rare editions, so that what was extant from the earlier periods of the language might be understood and used to illustrate the national history.

Furnivall's editorial work began before the Early English Text Society was founded He was drawn at first, like many of his contemporaries and some of his acquaintances, to study the Arthurian romances and the literature connected with them. Some of the works which he edited, particularly that of Henry Lonelich the Skinner (now called Lovelich), viz. the *Seynt Graal* already mentioned, are among the most dismal and repulsive things that may be quoted to justify all the contempt of the classical Renaissance for the barbarism of the Middle Ages. But through this heavy business he came to work at old French, he plunged into the sources of Malory, and if his edition of the *Queste del Saint Graal* should appear to any precise scholar a rash enterprise, there is this to be said, that for many a year it remained the only modern edition of any part of Malory's 'French book'; and this further, that when a new beginning was made in the edition of *Merlin* for the *Société des Anciens Textes*, the work of Furnivall was saluted by the greatest scholar in France, Gaston Paris was one of the most cordial of the writers who contributed to the Furnivall *Miscellany* in 1900. While he was engaged in the *Queste del Saint Graal*, Furnivall also was busy with an edition of the rhyming *Morte Arthur* from a Harleian MS. This pleasant book, which thoroughly makes up for the dullness of the misnamed Skinner, was published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in 1864, it is not out of place to remember that Furnivall always thought of that house with kindness. After that, his editing work was naturally done for his own Society, and he had not to apply to any firm of publishers, or to rely on the good offices of the Roxburghe Club for which he had edited

Lovelich and the *Queste*. There was, however, one considerable book after this which was not done for any of his Societies—the edition of the Percy Folio MS which Furnivall edited along with Professor J. W. Hales.

Of the Ballad Society, the Chaucer Society, and others of which Furnivall was the founder and the chief agent, it would take some time to speak adequately. But whatever may be passed over, the six-text edition of the *Canterbury Tales* must be remembered as the foundation of all subsequent research and industry in that field.

Furnivall was sometimes undervalued, partly through his own fault, no doubt—through his eager and impatient nature, which did not always allow him to understand other people's points of view. He was looked on with suspicion by many respectable men who shared, perhaps, only one, or only part of one, of his varied interests—who thought that his Browning Society was an offence and his sculling-club a weariness. It is not to be denied, either, by his best friends, that he was often aggressive and inconsiderate. In his writing there is little grace, except what comes from his sincerity and the likeness of his written to his spoken words, and of his spoken words to his own nature.

But what he has done for the historical study of the language and for a large part of English literature is established and ratified by the judgement of scholars, often differing greatly from Furnivall in aims and methods, and representing traditions quite opposed to his unguarded downright ways of dealing with a subject. The dedication of Ten Brink's *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, and the list of contributors to the *Miscellany* in his honour are proof of the estimation in which he was held by those best qualified to judge and least likely to indulge in exaggerated or unmerited praise.

W. P. KER.

JOHN PEILE

1838–1910

LATE MASTER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

The life of our late Master was so crowded with excellent work of so many kinds that it is impossible to describe it at all adequately within a brief space. From the very first, he was one of the most remarkable and promising students whom even Cambridge has produced. How he won the Craven Scholarship in 1859, and was bracketed as Senior Classic and Chancellor's Medallist in 1860, having previously graduated as a Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos, is duly recorded in the Cambridge Calendar. Of his extraordinary success as a College Tutor, some account is given in the Christ's College Magazine for 1910 by Dr. Rouse and another of his pupils. 'His lecture-room was crowded, and the classical scholars expressed nothing but strong admiration for his teaching.' He 'was a member of Council of the Senate without a break from 1874 to 1896, the longest period of service yet recorded'. Again we see him in another aspect as taking the greatest interest and a very leading part in the promotion of University teaching for women His success in filling the difficult position of Vice-Chancellor was long remembered. How much he accomplished in the way of advancing the interests and the position of the College of which he was the late Master must be well known, though the value of this work can perhaps be best appreciated by the present Fellows. It is to him also that we owe *The History of Christ's College*, published in 1900, and the still more elaborate and complete account of the same in the two volumes which are now passing through the press, entitled 'Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505–1905, and of the earlier foundation, God's House, 1448–1505', which will be a book of extraordinary value, as a work of reference, for centuries to come.

There is one part of his work which deserves especial mention, namely, his devotion to the study of Comparative Philology. No doubt he received the first impulse in this direction from Dr. Donaldson, the author of *The New Cratylus* and *Varronianus*, who was especially interested in classical philology, as it was then understood.

But Peile's ambition was to learn Sanskrit, and for that purpose he repaired to Gottingen, in order to study under Benfey, the author of a Sanskrit Dictionary (1866), which contained, as the title-page announces, 'Etymologies and comparisons of cognate words chiefly in Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon' It was not long before the aptness of the pupil was fully manifested, and on his return to Cambridge he began to teach Sanskrit and to lecture on Comparative Philology The most important result of his efforts was his *Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology*, first published in 1869; and it is from this date that we may truly reckon the introduction into Cambridge of the fascinating study of Comparative Philology It is to Peile alone that we owe the inception of this great benefit, though none was more ready than he to welcome the advent in 1876 of our first Professor of Sanskrit, the admirable and profoundly learned Cowell Peile very soon began to recognize the value of the study of spoken sounds, and expresses his sense of that value in the clearest manner in the Preface to the second edition of his *Introduction* in 1872. In this he did not hesitate to say that, as regards phonetic changes, 'the historians of language often give very unsatisfactory, because unmethodical, explanations (as Corssen), or leave them altogether unexplained, as Curtius generally does.'

Of this second edition there exists a very fair-minded and well-considered review by Professor Whitney, of Yale, printed in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1873-4 Whitney offers several important criticisms, but the interest for us is in his concluding remarks. 'I trust that no one will impute to me any discourtesy toward Dr. Peile, in speaking thus freely of some of the blemishes discoverable in his excellent work. If I had not regarded it as a valuable production, in its main substance a credit to English scholarship, and likely to exercise an influence deservedly great and wide, I certainly should never have thought of criticising it thus in detail.'

A third edition appeared in 1875; and then there came a new movement, in 1876, which seemed to amount almost to a revolution in the mode of studying the subject, though it was really rather a readjustment than a reversal of older methods. The old theory that the original alphabet of the Indogermanic races had but three short vowels, viz. *a*, *i*, and *u*, had caused much misdirected ingenuity to be spent in unsatisfactory attempts to account for the existence of *e* and *o* in forms that appeared to be original, or at any rate, common to a large number of languages. The new view, that the five vowels,

a, e, i, o, u, existed from the first, brought about a readjustment which had the conspicuous merit of introducing admirable order where much had been previously obscure; and the result was that a large number of puzzling contradictions almost wholly disappeared.

No one saw more clearly than Peile himself that the new theory had been irrefragably established, and, consequently, that it would be necessary for him to re-write certain portions of his great work. It must soon have become obvious to him that the emendations required were not really extensive, nor such as to cause the abandonment of many of his etymologies, but they would be numerous and would occur throughout the work in the form of minute alterations; so that the only way of obtaining a satisfactory result would be to reprint it from beginning to end. It was a troublesome task, and it might be difficult to secure the publisher's complete acquiescence, especially in the case of a book which had just, as had been supposed, assumed a final form. But however this may have been, the third edition remained as it was, and a fourth never appeared. He was contented to leave the task of exhibiting the new results to his pupils, foremost among whom were Mr. P. Giles (now Dr. Giles), Mr. W. H. D. Rouse (now Dr. Rouse), and Mr. R. S. Conway (now Professor Conway). In 1888, Dr. Joseph Wright, with the assistance of Dr. Brugmann himself and Mr. Giles, brought out an English translation of volume I of Brugmann's great work, with the title 'Elements of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-germanic Languages', which at once superseded all other books of a like nature. Volume II of the same appeared in 1891, translated by R. Seymour Conway and W. H. D. Rouse, with the following dedication — 'To John Peile, Doctor of Letters, Master of Christ's College, the founder of the study of Comparative Philology in Cambridge, this translation is dedicated in token of their gratitude and affection by his old pupils.' This was no more than was just, but it is pleasant to see their recognition of his teaching so plainly expressed. Volumes III and IV, by the same translators, appeared in 1892 and 1895 respectively, in both of which the Dedication was repeated. In 1895 Mr. Giles, epitomizing Dr. Brugmann's chief results, brought out *A Short Manual of Comparative Philology for Classical Students*, in the Preface to which he tells us that 'Dr. Peile, Master of Christ's College, my teacher and predecessor in the same field, gave me advice at the beginning and read some parts in manuscript'. A second edition of this work appeared in 1901. It must have been a great satisfaction to one who had so unselfish and so generous a disposition

to find that his work was, after all, so far from being forgotten that it was followed up with persistence and energy, and is still exercising a wide and beneficial influence. The plant which he had planted and cherished with such assiduous care has taken firm root and has grown up into a vigorous tree, and it will be the fault of future generations of workers if it ever ceases to flourish in Cambridge

WALTER W. SKEAT

J. E. B. MAYOR

1825–1910

JOHN EYTON BICKERSTETH MAYOR was the son of the Rev. Robert Mayor and Charlotte Bickersteth, sister of Lord Langdale and of Edward Bickersteth of Watton. His elder brother, Robert Bickersteth Mayor, was Third Wrangler in 1842, and his younger brother, Joseph Bickersteth Mayor, Second Classic in 1851. All the three brothers were Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge.

John Mayor was born on January 28, 1825, at Baddegama in Ceylon, where his father was a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. We have his own authority for saying that, as a boy of six, he revelled in Rollin, and the English Homer and Virgil (both in prose), and in the English Nepos and Caesar.[1] Early in his eighth year he was sent as a day-boy to the Grammar School of Newcastle-under-Lyme, where he distinguished himself by his readiness to fight boys ever so much bigger than himself, and also by his excellent memory and his precocious love of learning. Before completing his eighth year, he was sent to Christ's Hospital, and it has been surmised that his stoical endurance, his asceticism, and his antiquarian and historical interests were fostered by the strange survival of sixteenth-century life, into which he had been plunged in the very heart of London. In his eleventh year, after an attack of scarlet fever, he was withdrawn from school, and spent two or three years at home, learning Greek, as well as Latin, from his mother. When he was about thirteen he went to Shrewsbury, the school which won and retained his loyal devotion for the rest of his long life. His own account of his school and of his own school-boy studies may be found in his tribute to the memory of his great Head Master, Dr. Kennedy:—

'Shrewsbury school owed nothing to costly apparatus. No professional trainer directed the sports in the field or on the river; no examining staff from outside controlled the teaching; after dark even the highest boys were summoned from their studies to the "head-room", where they had to write their exercises as best they might, in a crowd. The difficulties in the pursuit of knowledge only served to fix and concentrate their attention on the work in hand'. . . 'I was one of many who read far more out of school, for our own

[1] *First Greek Reader*, p. xxi n.

improvement, than we did for the set lessons of the half-year I learnt to keep a common-place book, to make commentaries on every author I took up, to form original collections on points of history, grammar, lexicography, &c I bought for myself, and perused carefully, such books as Joseph Butler's and Richard Hooker's works '[1]

Another glimpse of his school-boy days at Shrewsbury may be found elsewhere —

'For several years I have not written a verse, but during my school career, till near its close, no occupation had greater charms for me I constantly wrote exercises twice or three times the required length, committing to memory several thousand lines of verse, including a Greek play, Horace's *Odes*, and a *Georgic*, and thumbed the *Corpus Poetarum* from Lucretius to Ausonius Perhaps no single volume, except the Bible, embraces so many ages of literature, and reflects so clearly the changes of a nation's life I was led to buy and study not a few English poets, Shakespeare I read through. Milton's verse, English and Latin, I nearly knew by heart '[2]

In October, 1844, he began residence as a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, and his life as a student is thus recalled in his Commemoration Sermon of 1902 —

'The common hall, next to the common chapel, was a bond of union I knew many men well and delighted in their conversation, who were never in my rooms nor I in theirs. We talked of Coleridge and Wordsworth and Thirlwall, of University Reform, of literary plans No books bearing on the history of learning could have eluded our keen scent.'[3] 'The thoughts and conversations (he says elsewhere) 'of my undergraduate associates did not run on marks or fellowships their time was not so engrossed by preparation for the tripos that they could not devote three or four hours a day to modern languages, to general literature, to the controversies of the time; Coleridge, Whately, Mill, Newman, Hare, Maurice, Thirlwall, were names more familiar to us than those of any trainers for a "paltry examination" Once only, I remember, was I urged to "cram" hard passages in certain Greek authors, which authors I had repeatedly read as wholes, to please my tutor I copied the lists, but neither by me, nor by any pupil of mine, have these ever been turned to account '[4]

His private tutor was William Henry Bateson, subsequently Public Orator and ultimately Master of St. John's. In the Classical Tripos of 1848, Mayor's name appeared in the third place in the First Class, immediately below C. B Scott and Westcott, and a little above Llewellyn Davies and David Vaughan. In the following year he was elected Fellow, *decessore Carolo Merivale.* From 1849 to 1853, he was a master at Marlborough, where, apart from his principal work with the lower sixth, it was his duty to teach one of the lower forms three hours a week

'For more than three years,' he says, 'my subject was Greek delectus; the text-book duller than a multiplication table, the boys' energies spent in petty

[1] *The Latin Heptateuch*, p. lxvii f.
[2] *First Greek Reader*, p. xxxvi f.
[3] *The Eagle*, xxiii 308
[4] *First Greek Reader*, p. xli f.

mischief; mine, in petty punishments For a few months I took the same class in Latin verse, brought in Boethius, or some other author new to me, selected four easy verses, gave out the English with a few Latin words, and sat down to my Boethius. Each boy, as he completed a verse, brought it to my desk, winning a mark for it if correct The weariest hours in the week became the liveliest, every boy in the form was put on his mettle, impositions were driven out by eager work '[1]

It was at Marlborough that he prepared his erudite edition of *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, first published in 1853 in a single volume of 463 pages, with the notes at the foot of the page. The later editions were in two volumes, ending with the fourth edition of vol. i in 1886, and the third of vol. ii in 1881 In these the text filled less than 87 pages in vol. i, followed by the notes which extended over 789 pages of the two volumes. In the 'Advertisement' to vol. i, which reveals the editor's views on many of the subjects of the day, he thus records the genesis of the work —

'When, in 1850 or 1851, my friend the publisher said to me. "You ought to bring out a book," it was no special acquaintance with Juvenal that suggested the choice, but dissatisfaction with Ruperti's edition, then holding the field. "I have a good many notes on Juvenal, and Ruperti's book is not worthy of his author."'

The book was dedicated to Dr. Kennedy, as 'the firstfruits of those studies, in which you first taught me to take an interest'. Not a few of the comprehensive notes in this work (especially in its later editions) are recognized as the most complete collections of the literature of the subject concerned. As examples we may mention the notes on Roman recitations, on the poets read in Roman schools, on the worship of the Emperor, on purple dye and on poisons, on astrology in Rome, and on ancient vegetarians.

After his return to St. John's as a College Lecturer, he contributed to the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* two comprehensive articles on Latin lexicography, which appeared in November, 1855, and in March, 1857. Both of these were marked by the same love of learning and familiarity with its history, which continued to be one of his leading characteristics for more than half a century of his subsequent life. To his early admiration for the lexicographical work of Forcellini and of Scheller, he afterwards added a high appreciation of that of Georges, an appreciation which was also fully felt by Henry Nettleship.

Meanwhile he had thrown himself with ardour into various forms of literary and antiquarian research, and no account of his life could

[1] *First Greek Reader*, p. xxxiii f.

be in any sense complete unless it included his own retrospect of this most fruitful period of his unwearied activity:

'On becoming bursar William Henry Bateson made me free of the college treasury, which for a century and a half had never been ransacked. I was allowed to bind the old registers and the building plans of the second court, to supply Professor Willis and Mr J. W. Clark with materials for our architectural history, and Mr. Charles Henry Cooper with facts bearing on his unselfish labours—unselfish, for we never gave him a degree—to transcribe admissions from the beginning of 1631, and to work heartily for the Antiquarian Society. I calendared the Baker MSS., and made large biographical collections, these have long been used by labourers in other colleges or outside Cambridge and will survive with the manuscripts of Baker and Cole. I printed the four earliest codes of our Statutes, and several biographies, together with Roger Ascham's Schoolmaster and some of his English letters, with much in Notes and Queries, and helped writers for the Dictionary of National Biography. Three years in the University Library threw all my work out of gear, but I have since brought out the first volume of Bishop Fisher's English works and Baker's History of the College, a pious wish of Zachary Grey, Thomas Smart Hughes and Churchill Babington. The first volume of the College Registers, from 1631 to 1715, has been issued, and I have joyfully handed over the work to the capable hands of the bursar.[1]

'As examiner for prize essays I was fortunate enough to enlist James Bass Mullinger and Christopher Wordsworth in the pursuit of academic history.'[2]

The biographies above mentioned are those of Nicholas Ferrar (1855), Matthew Robinson (1856), and William Bedell (1856), followed by that of Ambrose Bonwicke (1870). All of these were elaborately annotated, and the same holds good of his admirable edition of Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1863). The Early Statutes of St John's College (1859) were followed by his edition of Baker's *History of St. John's* (1869), a solid work in two volumes, in which Baker's text is printed for the first time, with the addition of abundant notes on the lives of all the Masters of the College and of the Bishops trained within its walls. On the scholarly side of the life of Samuel Butler, Head Master of Shrewsbury and Bishop of Lichfield, far more is to be found in these notes than in the two volumes of the grandson's interesting biography. Simultaneously, he was engaged in editing for the Rolls Series the *Speculum Historiale* of Richard of Cirencester, published in two volumes in 1863 and 1869. Nearly one hundred and fifty pages of the preface to the second volume are devoted to the examination of a work ascribed to Richard under the title *De Situ Britanniae*. It is shown that, while in his *Speculum* the Westminster monk 'never cites even an ancient poet', the author of the *De Situ* is familiar with—

[1] R. F. Scott, since elected Master of the College.
[2] Commemoration Sermon, 1902, *The Eagle*, xxiii. 309.

'the most recondite evidence, Greek as well as Latin, fragments, inscriptions, coins, works extant (like the *tabula Peutingeriana*) only in one distant copy, or (like the *Cosmographia Ravennatis*) only in three MSS of the fifteenth century, twice he quotes Greek, he follows Camden's order, Camden's Latin versions and general Latinity, Camden's blunders' The *De Situ* is, in fact, the work of 'a forger alike contemptible as penman, Latinist, historian, geographer, critic'[1] It was never mentioned until 1747, and its author was Charles Bertram of Copenhagen

In 1868 he produced his excellent *First Greek Reader*, with a racy preface on classical education, interspersed with autobiographical touches, some of which have been already quoted Towards the close of that preface, he introduces his favourite protest against giving four of the Greek vowels the names of *Epsilon*, *Upsilon*, *Omicron*, and *Omega*, the only names by which these letters were known to the Greeks being εἶ, ὖ, οὖ and ὦ, while Ω (not ὦ μέγα) is the form found in the best MSS. of the Greek Testament (*Rev.* i 8; xxi. 6; xxii. 13), and in Prudentius:—

> "Αλφα et Ω cognominatus, ipse fons et clausula
> omnium, quae sunt, fuerunt, quaeque post ventura sunt.

In the same Preface he restores sense and metre by correcting *ἑνὸς χανόντος μετέσχηκεν ἅτερος* (Apostolios vii 20), into *ἑνὸς χανόντος μετακέχηνεν ἅτερος* ('yawning is catching'). Of his emendations of the text of the *editio princeps* of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, the best was that in c. 50 § 2, where *μηδεὶς ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ τείχους καταβαλεῖ κόπρον* was corrected into *ἐντὸς ι (=δέκα) σταδίων τοῦ τείχους*, the MS. actually having *εντος ιδιων* (with στα written above)

Meanwhile, he had held for three years (1864–7) the laborious office of University Librarian, to which he was elected without a contest. During the whole of those three years he was never absent for more than eight days together. To the catalogue of MSS., completed during his tenure of office, he contributed the descriptions of five MSS. in the second volume, and those of the Baker MSS. in the fifth. His scheme for substituting for the various series of class-marks, a single series of Arabic numerals, was carried out so far as the alteration of the marks in the books and in the catalogue. It was then tacitly abandoned. His friend and successor, Henry Bradshaw, speaks of 'the enormous increase of life and vigour inspired by his energy'.

In connexion with Classical Literature, he prepared an original and minutely annotated edition of the Third Book of Pliny's Letters (1880) an edition of Cicero's Second Philippic founded on that of Halm

[1] Richard of Cirencester, ed Mayor, vol. ii, pp. clxii–iv.

(1861 etc.), and a bibliography of Latin Literature founded on that of Hubner (1875) With posterity his reputation as a Latin scholar will undoubtedly rest upon his earliest work, the commentary on Juvenal. During the three years for which the Professorship of Latin was held by Munro (1869–72), Mayor was, by a happy coincidence, engaged in bringing out the second edition of that work. In 1872 he was elected Professor, but, as in the days of his College teaching, his lectures were too closely packed with parallel passages to be ever properly appreciated by his audience. His favourite subjects were Martial and the Letters of Seneca and Pliny, with Minucius Felix and Tertullian. His lectures on Bede bore fruit in a joint edition of the Third and Fourth Books of the Ecclesiastical History (1878), and, in 1889, he published a critical review of the *Latin Heptateuch* of Cyprian, the sixth-century poet and Bishop of Toulon. Three years previously, he had closed the discursive 'Advertisement' to the fourth edition of the first volume of his Juvenal with these words :—

> Henceforth I hope to devote myself to clearing off my many literary arrears, reserving for my old age a commentary on Seneca, for which I have made large collections.'

The *Commentary on Seneca* never appeared; of his proposed editions of several Books of the Odyssey and of the Tenth Book of Quintilian, only a small portion was published in 1872, and a similar fate befell his annotated editions of Burman's and Uffenbach's visits to Cambridge in 1702–10. At the age of about 80, he offered to resign the Professorship of Latin, but the University had then made no provision for pensions, while it was bound to pay a higher stipend to his successor; accordingly, his resignation was not accepted.

It cannot be said that he had any special talent for the work of a lecturer. The finest specimens of his English style are to be found, not in his lectures or in his introductions, but in the sermons preached in the chapel of his College and elsewhere. Most of them were printed immediately after delivery. The preacher's name was not given, but there was a careful entry of the date, and an appendix of interesting notes. In the Commemoration Sermon of 1891 he declared that the discourses of Bishop Fisher 'rank him high among the fathers of English prose; of that prose which, in the sermons of John Donne, reached perhaps the greatest majesty of which our language is capable'. His own discourses were well described by Sir Richard Jebb as 'those remarkable sermons of permanent interest both theological and literary'. Some of them were inspired by the Old Catholics, the Spanish Reformed Church, and the Church of

Scotland, or by the simple life exemplified in a moderate variety of vegetarianism.

In his old age he quickly mastered Esperanto. He was familiar with French, Italian, and Spanish, and especially familiar with German and with Dutch. In 1875 he represented his University at the tercentenary of Leyden, where he met Madvig and Cobet His latest work was a *First German Reader, with translations and notes*, published under the alternative title of *Jacula Prudentium: Verse and Prose from the German.* He paid only one visit to Rome, where, apart from the memorials of ancient ages, he was mainly interested in the modern schools. When the National Library of Turin was partly destroyed by fire on January 26, 1904, he promptly sent the Library no less than 710 volumes, receiving in return a grateful letter of thanks, together with two specially bound volumes relating to the Library, *in omaggio ed in segno di imperitura riconoscenza.*

He received honorary degrees from Oxford, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, he was one of the original members of the British Academy, and he attended the meetings of its Council with marked regularity On his eightieth birthday, a Latin address of congratulation, written by Dr. Reid and signed by many scholars in Cambridge, was presented to him at a meeting presided over by Sir Richard Jebb

'Then came' (so says Sir Richard) 'the really interesting part. The fine old man got up, and began with a speech in Latin, after which he passed into English. It was characteristic of his non-egotism that he seemed to forget the occasion, and launched out into a discursive speech on all his favourite hobbies in scholarship, illustrated with a wealth of learning. His memory is still prodigious As to vigour and spirit, he might be forty.'[1]

In the preceding year, his portrait, etched by Herkomer, had appeared as the frontispiece of *Minerva.* One of that artist's masterpieces is the portrait painted in 1890 and now preserved in the Hall of St. John's.

On his own authority we are assured that his only recreation was reading, and that he never took exercise for its own sake. Blest with a remarkably strong constitution, he never had occasion to seek any medical advice from the age of 12 to that of about 83. On December 1, 1910, he suddenly died of heart-failure, within two months of attaining the age of 86.

J. E. SANDYS

*** In the above notice I have made some use of my own articles on the same subject which have appeared in *The Times*, the *Cambridge Review*, and the *Classical Review.*

[1] Sir Richard Jebb's *Life and Letters*, p. 410 f

S. H. BUTCHER

By LORD REAY

(FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY)

At a Meeting of the Fellows on January 18, 1911

We meet to-day under the shadow of the great loss we have sustained. Our late President ever since its creation took the deepest interest in the fortunes of our Academy. A scholar of the highest distinction, his study of the humanities lent him a charm which was purely humane, and endeared him to all who came in contact with him.

'In his own life and work he illustrates his conception of *humanitas* as the refining influence of Literature and Art. . .': these words applied by your first President to the late Sir Richard Jebb he now recalls on the passing away of one who was universally accepted as an ideal representative of English humanism in the noblest and fullest sense of the word.

A Fellow of the Academy from the very beginning, Mr. Butcher had the right view of the Academy's purposes, functions, possibilities, and all that pertained to its dignity. As President, he did much during the all too short period of his tenure of office to advance that corporate organization of Learning in all its branches for which the Academy was founded. His interests were manifold; within and without the Academy many looked on him as the very embodiment of what may be styled 'the tradition of English Classical Scholarship'. With him accuracy, minute learning, patient investigation, the search for truth, went in happiest conjunction with grace of style —the quest for beauty.

A masterly address on 'Tennyson' delivered in October 1909, when he entered on the Presidentship, attracted much attention as a kind of object-lesson in the art of criticism; it illustrated the main topic of his Presidential Address, the relation of the Academy to English Literature.

In June last he took as his theme the relation of the Academy to Science, in the ordinary acceptation of the word. 'All the Sciences, and indeed all the Arts on the historical side,' he maintained, 'have points of contact with the British Academy, and here is a promising field for opening up relations with other corporate bodies at home as well as for international co-operation.'

He strongly advocated the claims of the Academy, and endeavoured in many ways, known only to a very few of those concerned, to help forward its interest he clearly voiced the conviction that the denial of State support to organize Learning outside the sphere of the physical Sciences tends to lower the intellectual dignity of Great Britain in international relations.

His was a just pride in the office to which his Fellow members of the Academy had appointed him, they chose him in the hope that for some years to come he would guide its course. All too soon he has joined the noble group whose loss the Academy has deep cause to deplore—Acton, Sidgwick, Jebb, Lecky, Leslie Stephen, Caird, Monro, Maitland—to name a few only of those who first manned the vessel. In June last for the first time we reached our maximum limit of 100, before the year closed our ranks have become depleted —Furnivall, Peile, Mayor, one after the other, passed from us, all of them linked to the Academy by many ties, each went to his rest after the fullness of life's harvest, though each could ill be spared. Our President at a comparatively young age, when so much vigorous activity seemed to be in store for him, was struck down as it were in the very midst of life. He has left behind him a noble record, and for us there is some comfort at least in the knowledge that we had chosen him as our Chief. The death of Jebb comes to our mind in this time of our grievous loss, for many regarded Butcher as heir to Jebb in the domain of learning and ideals.

He had a single-minded and simple nature, and the *simplex sigillum veri* was fully applicable to him. There was a higher influence which made itself felt. He was a devout Christian. His strength of character, of convictions, was derived from his faith in principles which are immutable. He advocated a cause strenuously, but he never roused any animosity He never made use of invective, and his style was always persuasive. He felt deeply, and his transparent sincerity raised the tone of any controversy in which he was engaged. His knowledge of the University systems of England, Scotland, and Ireland was unrivalled, and the Universities owe him a debt of lasting gratitude for his life-long endeavour to improve their condition and to widen their sphere of usefulness. In a speech

delivered at the Mansion House on June 30, 1909, he gave this admirable definition of a liberal education:—

'What do we mean by a liberal education? The phrase was invented by the Greeks, and the Greek idea is still the true idea of it. It is the idea of an education that is worthy of a freeman, and a fit preparation for the calling of a citizen; one that is in some senses disinterested, that is to say, that it is not directed to immediate gain, or to mere material ends. A liberal education does indeed fit a man for the practical requirements of afterlife, but any technical skill that is produced is merely a by-product of the process, and not the direct end. The direct end is to call out the free activities, both of mind and of body, and to produce capable citizens. And let me say with all emphasis that there is a deep and ineffaceable distinction between education and apprenticeship, between the training of a faculty and the preparation for a trade, between the discipline of the will and the sharpening of the wits.'

His gifts were so varied that he was pre-eminently fit to be the President of a British Academy and to discharge the responsible duties of the office. We were all looking forward with the utmost confidence to his guidance. His life was devoted to the highest interests of the United Kingdom. He leaves us an example of patriotism and conscientious adaptation of high ideals in many fields of civic activity.

His memory is that of a unique personality. In my Address, to which I have already alluded, I mentioned that Jebb once instanced in illustration of the deepening influences of Scholarship on life, the famous story of how the dying English statesman quoted Sarpedon's words to Glaucus to one who, seeing his condition, wished to defer the task of the day, repeating the last word of the line again and again: 'ἴομεν' *let us go forward*. Such a message comes to us again from our departed friend—'ἴομεν' *let us go forward*.

S. H. BUTCHER

1850–1910

At the close of the year 1910 the society of British learning and letters lost a unique figure, one of the most beneficent and attractive men by whom in recent times it has been adorned. Henry Butcher, late President of the British Academy, had a character and position to which no sufficient justice can be done in the common forms of an obituary record. His peculiar distinction lay not so much in achievements literary or political, as in his personality, a singularly harmonious union of qualities, moral, intellectual, and even physical, by which his mere presence and existence became a charm, an encouragement, and an example.

The ordinary proofs of distinction he possessed, indeed, in ample measure. Among a mass of important functions, which he was discharging at the end of his career, it is sufficient to mention, in addition to his place in the British Academy, that he was Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, and a Trustee of the British Museum. His published works, though not voluminous, include one at least—an exposition of Aristotle's *Poetics*—which has been stamped with every kind of approval, and is a permanent addition to the classical library. His public services to the higher education, especially in connexion with the reform of the Scottish Universities and the recent creation of a new University in Ireland, are great and notorious.

But these things were not the whole of his performance, nor the most important part. They would not in themselves account for what was most remarkable in the public impression produced by the news of his death. Many proofs might be cited that this event was felt as a personal loss by people whose interest in academic affairs was slight, and their concern with philosophy little or nothing, by some whose acquaintance with Butcher himself was limited to an occasional or single sight and hearing upon a platform. However slight the acquaintance, there would remain a remembrance of it, and the desire for more. He seemed to be the very type of cultivated humanity, an assurance of its reality and value.

It has been remarked, by foreign critics of this country, that in the English use of the words *scholar* and *scholarship* there is something which could hardly be represented in other languages. The terms convey, perhaps, a less definite mental attribution (and certainly a stronger suggestion of character) than belongs to any like term elsewhere. And it seems to be true that, however we may come short of realizing the conception in our prevalent type, we have retained, with some firmness, the notion at least, the idea, derived from Graeco-Roman culture, of the *ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes*; we believe at least that the 'scholar' should be more humane than others, more quick in appreciative interest, more facile of intercourse, gentler, more social, better, in short, as a man. To such a demand, at all events, it was that Henry Butcher responded, as fully, perhaps, as the conditions of humanity allow, and certainly to a degree seldom seen.

His figure was graceful, his face was noble and impressive without any touch of severity. Still more remarkable were his voice and speech. Here indeed, if in any particular trait, might perhaps have been placed, by a close observer, the essence and differential mark of his manner. His command of the English language, for every practical purpose, might be recommended as a model of perfection, correct, simple, flexible, subtle where subtlety was in place, and all without the least suspicion of constraint or unnatural effort. In conversation he was ready to take his theme from his company. His own mind by preference ran upon subjects of some gravity, especially social and political topics; but he was ready (if the expression is not too blunt) for every one; and of engrossing the conversation, or any like offence, he was incapable. Formal jest he affected little, and epigram hardly at all; but whatever the theme, there went with his eagerness a certain playfulness and enjoyment, the fruit and evidence of his pleasure in human fellowship. He talked well, but not too well, never as if for effect. And his wide experience of men made him rich in humorous and original illustration.

His whole career, his time and labour given without stint to the improvement and diffusion of culture, are the best proof that he really had the generous sentiments and the high public spirit, of which such manners should be the sign. But no one who saw and heard him could have suspected otherwise. His sincerity was visible, and it was plain that what he acted was his character; and if, as doubtless is the truth, character, feeling, principle, are themselves more important than the translation of them into manners, it is also true that the great social virtues would be commoner than they are, if the habit of so translating them, and the self-culture necessary for the formation

of such a habit, could be communicated to the average man in a measure at all approaching what was natural to Butcher. And meanwhile the best pleasures of life would be indefinitely enhanced. To the achievement of these ends he was a living incentive, and his memory should be an incentive still.

His career had few episodes and a consistent unity. In his family, as in his temper, there was a blend of English and Irish; but by both parents, Samuel Butcher and Mary Leahy, he was an Irishman. Samuel Henry, their eldest son, was born on April 26, 1850, at Dublin, his father (afterwards Bishop of Meath) being then Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Trinity College. He was educated chiefly in England, at Marlborough from 1864, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1869 to 1873, in which year he was Senior Classic In 1874 he was elected a Fellow of his College, and there he resided and taught until the vacation of his fellowship by marriage (to Rose Chenevix Trench, daughter of the Archbishop of Dublin) in 1876. Dr. Bradley, his head master at Marlborough, was now Master of University College, Oxford, and procured his appointment to a tutorial fellowship there. At Oxford, as one of the staff of University College, Butcher lived, and worked with great success, from 1876 to 1882, when he obtained the important post of Greek Professor in the University of Edinburgh This he held for twenty-one years, residing chiefly, of course, at Edinburgh, but often at a house which he possessed near Killarney. In 1902 his wife died, and in the following year he resigned his professorship and removed to London. By this time he had achieved a very great reputation, not only in the ordinary professional work of a writer and teacher, but also in all kinds of social and public business connected with the higher education.

In particular he had taken a leading part, not only in the government of the University of Edinburgh, but also, as a Commissioner and otherwise, in the reform of the Scottish Universities under the Act of 1889, as he afterwards did in the foundation of the new University of Ireland. He had also gained an immense acquaintance and personal touch with things, classes, and men concerned, directly or indirectly, in our academic system or systems. The circumstances of his life had given him in Ireland, England, and Scotland a singular combination of opportunities for observation His ceaseless industry and keen interest in all connexions of men—he was, for one thing, an untiring correspondent—enabled him to use these opportunities to the utmost. And his fascinating personality—to which at every point it is essential to recur—the genuine pleasure which he took and gave in all human intercourse, from the slightest to the deepest,

inspired with life what, in other management, might have been a mere web of knowledge His advice, help, and judgement were more and more sought, by men and corporations, in matters academical, and during the last twenty years of his life few or none had more weight in this department than he.

Resident in London from 1903, and nominally without occupation, he had soon as much work, or more, than ever, in connexion with such enterprises as the Hellenic Society, the Classical Association, and others too numerous to mention. To the Classical Association, originated by others, he gave invaluable assistance, and was a mainspring of its development and success.

Of the British Academy he was an original member, and in 1909 was chosen President. He delivered presidential addresses in 1909—when his principal topic was the anniversary of the death of Tennyson—and in 1910, upon the general scope and purpose of the Academy itself. The latter, in particular, though both are interesting, may be noticed as a specimen of his range and judgement As a chairman for purposes of business he was admirably qualified by courtesy, dexterity, and patience almost in excess; and for purposes of state or ceremony it would be hard to conceive his superior.

Though he described himself, in addressing the Academy as President, as 'not an international person', he did, in fact, receive many proofs of admiration from abroad, and, in particular, an honorary degree from the University of Harvard, where in 1904 he delivered the course of lectures afterwards published.

But the most practically important accession to his influence and labours was his election in 1906, upon the death of Sir R. C. Jebb, as Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge With his views and feelings, it was a matter of course that he should be deeply interested in politics, especially in a time when at so many points education has been the subject of political action and debate, and his patriotism demanded that he should put his convictions in practice. At Edinburgh, in Ireland, and elsewhere, he had always been active in public affairs. Many causes combined to make him a Conservative, not least, perhaps, his profound and even painful interest in the preservation of that traditional culture, to which he himself was so deeply indebted. To consider him as a politician hardly belongs to this place. He made his mark in the House of Commons, and commanded both confidence and respect. For the representation of a University his fitness may fairly be described as ideal.

His strenuous life had not apparently impaired his strength, and his age still left a prospect of many years' activity, when in October,

1910, after a vacation which had not been restorative, he suddenly collapsed. The stroke was not immediately fatal; but he made no substantial recovery, and died, in London, on December 29, 1910.

Of his literary legacy, his published work, the most permanent part, as it will probably prove, is the treatise above mentioned, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*; and of this, for that reason, nothing need here be said. His prose translation of the *Odyssey*, in collaboration with Mr. Andrew Lang, also needs no commendation to sustain its popularity. But it may be worth while to direct attention to the great interest, from the present point of view and perhaps also for historical purposes, of the essays collected under the title *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, and of the *Harvard Lectures*. Nowhere will be found a more just appreciation of those qualities—freshness, flexibility, spontaneity—which belong to the Greek language and literature almost alone among instruments of education; nowhere a more sympathetic reading of the Hellenic lessons—the harmonious cultivation of all the individual powers, and the direction of those powers towards a more humane life and a closer intercourse of thought. That grave and strenuous Hellenism, wholly without affectation, which entered for so large a part into the religion of the last century, is perhaps nowhere better represented. As personal relics of the author, these books surpass the more elaborate treatise; they afford glimpses, all too few and imperfect, of the mixed humour and gravity, the delicate adjustment of language, which were so remarkable in his speeches and conversation. For specimens may be recommended two essays in the earlier volume (*Some Aspects, &c.*), *The Written and the Spoken Word*, and *The Melancholy of the Greeks*. Both exhibit essential elements in Butcher's mind; the second, in particular, contains some criticism not the less fine because quite unpretentious.

The text of Demosthenes in the Oxford Series remains unfinished and will be completed by another hand. What is done represents, of course, a vast amount of invisible labour. With this, a small book, a brief history and account of *Demosthenes*, published in 1881, is almost all that perpetuates an exceedingly rare intelligence of the Greek orators. But, since the author's time was filled with work that could not be spared, there is nothing to regret but that his life could not be spent twice.

Though Butcher's professional studies, after the days of pupilage, were turned—and this by no accident—almost entirely to Greek, it should not be forgotten that he was an exquisite Latinist, writing the language, both prose and verse, with a wonderful union of correctness to standard with the flavour of individual distinction. If any literature,

composed in a language not rooted in living speech, can be itself a thing of life and a new creation, this praise may be given to Butcher's poetry in Latin hexameters. The appreciation of such art has diminished, and is perhaps not likely to increase. Nevertheless, there are those who find pleasure in it, and if there remain any materials for a volume or volumes of Butcher's speeches, essays, or other matter, the collection should certainly preserve all that can be found of his very beautiful verses.

Addressing the Academy as President, and half humorously depreciating his claims to such a position, he described himself as so far from possessing many languages that he could with difficulty make himself intelligible in one. To those who knew his readiness of delivery in formal speaking, his unique and graceful facility in conversation, and the rapid production of his lucid and agreeable letters, such a criticism might seem to have no possible application. Yet Butcher was the last man to adopt a commonplace of apology, or any commonplace form, merely as a convention and without meaning. And, upon a moment's reflection, no one familiar with his thinking will miss the real significance of his remark. In nothing was he a more faithful disciple of the Greeks than in his distrust of the linguistic medium, on account of its tendency to stiffen and lose life, and in his ever-present sense of the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of making language, even spoken and respoken, contain, and conform to, the elusory mobility of living thought. In his essay on *The Written and the Spoken Word* the attentive reader will find much suggested beyond what is actually said. Moreover, in the view of Butcher, this stiffening habit of language, exhibited in English certainly not less than to the average degree, would seem to involve dangers other and more grave than those of art. Speech is, after all, the chief medium of human society. But how easily it may become a barrier between minds instead of a connexion—here is a matter of which we are not likely to think too much.

Between this way of regarding language, and the extending circles of social effort in which Butcher's life was passed, there was, as between all parts of his harmonious thought and work, a real and instinctive continuity. In holding that he drew mainly upon Hellenic example and suggestion, he himself certainly did not err; and to keep those sources open was for him a prime duty of patriotism. Not in this, however, nor in anything, had he the rigidity of a fanatic. He took part, repeatedly and eagerly, in educational movements which tended to relax the pressure of the 'classical' type. But undoubtedly he watched such movements, especially in the older academic foundations,

with jealousy, and held, without qualification, that for the loss of Hellenism, were it lost, hardly anything, not anything, could pay Whether he drew the line exactly at the right place, each will judge, and the future will show better than can be seen now. But assuredly it would be well for the country and the world, if from any education, Hellenic or non-Hellenic, might spring commonly, or more often, such intellectual and moral fruits as were seen in Henry Butcher. They will not come too often, and it is well to have seen them once.

A. W. VERRALL.